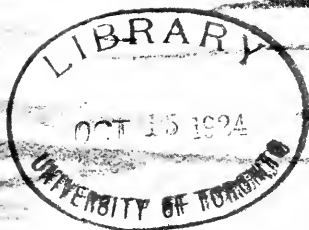


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JAPAN

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JANUARY 10TH, 1920

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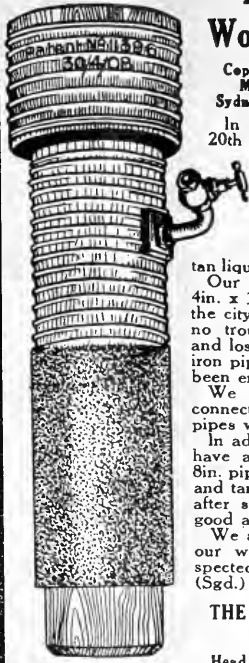
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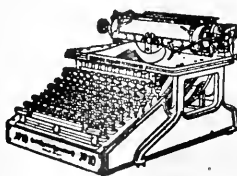
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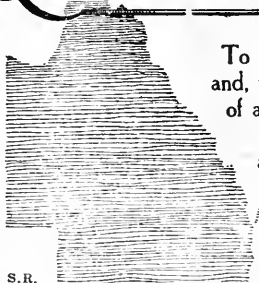
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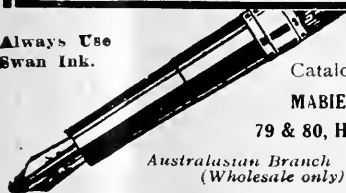
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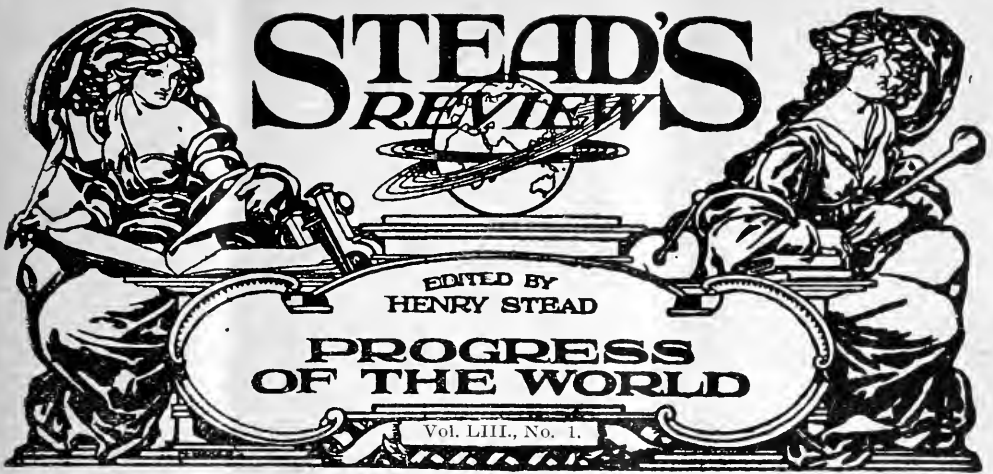
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JANUARY 3, 1920.

Peace at Last!

The war ended on November 11th, 1918, but Peace has not yet been made. First there was the delay in the assembling of the Peace Conference. Then the almost interminable discussions between the Allies concerning the division of the spoils, and the punishment of the vanquished. After the formal signing of the Treaty it had to be approved by the Parliaments of all the signatories, which proved a long process. The Treaty sets out that "a first *proces-verbal* of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the Treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers on the other hand. From the date of this first *proces-verbal* the Treaty will come into force between the High Contracting Parties who have ratified it. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present Treaty this date will be the date of the coming into force of the Treaty. In all other respects the Treaty will enter into force for each Power at the date of the deposit of its ratification." Instead, however, of depositing the ratifications, as agreed in the Treaty, the Allies delayed

so doing whilst they made new demands on Germany which the Germans are perforce obliged to submit to. The ostensible reason why the *proces-verbal* was not deposited is because America had not yet approved the Treaty. Actually, however, the necessary ratifications to make the Treaty binding had long ago been obtained, and there was no real object in further postponement except to squeeze the Germans some more. It looks now as if, at long last, the Treaty, with its newest additions, were to be finally signed and Peace be officially declared.

Can the Allies Make Further Exactions?

The question then arises whether it will be possible for the Allies to make still more demands on Germany, or whether the declaration of Peace puts an end to further exactions. Even as it is the Treaty gives the Allies wide powers and leaves the amounts to be paid by Germany as reparation so indefinite and so much under their control that we cannot wonder the German Government is in despair. It cannot budget for an expenditure which is not known, dare not try to raise money by a wealth levy or other heavy imposts because it has no guarantee that the Allies might not im-

pound all the sums so obtained to liquidate the expenses of the armies of occupation or to meet some fresh claims which they may make. The Treaty provides that Germany is to pay in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise during 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks. Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation must first be met, and with it payment is to be made for such supplies of food and raw materials as the Allies deem essential for Germany to meet her obligations for reparation. The whole matter, however, has to be arranged by the Reparation Commission, and that Commission is not yet constituted, cannot be set up indeed until after the coming into force of the present Treaty. From Mr. Austen Chamberlain's latest statement it appears that he presented the Germans with a bill for £50,000,000 to cover the cost of the British army of occupation for the first year, and all that he has been able to get thus far is £1,000,000, leaving a deficit of £49,000,000 for the British taxpayer to shoulder. None of the various Commissions which have to determine this, that and the other matters left over by the Allied representatives at Paris, can come into existence until after the official declaration of Peace. Thus chaos still reigns throughout Europe.

"Do-as-you-like" Reign Ending.

No definite estimates of the payments Germany has to make can be arrived at until the Reparation Commission gets to work. The plebiscites in Schleswig and Silesia, the determination of the frontiers of Germany in the east, of Poland, of Czecho-Slovakia, and the rest must all wait the decisions of Commissions which the continued delay in the declaration of Peace prevents from being established. It is only too obvious that the reluctance of the Allies to deposit their ratifications of the Treaty is making confusion worse confounded in Europe, and is checkmating all attempts by the Germans to meet the new conditions. The position so far as the Allied Governments and Germany are concerned is much the same as at present exists in all Allied countries. Ministers and military chiefs have enjoyed years of absolute power. They have

been almost entirely free from criticism, and have done exactly what they liked, meeting every protest with the assertion that what they did was necessary for the safety of the country. The people have become so accustomed to being hectored and told to do this, that and the other, they do not even yet realise that, the war being over, they are again at liberty to exercise their rights and can criticise and raise objections as in pre-war days. Never before have the military authorities had such unbounded power, can we wonder that they are exceedingly loath to relinquish it? Never before have Ministers enjoyed such complete authority, is it surprising that they try to postpone the day when criticism again assails them, when, instead of issuing whatever fiat and orders seem good to them they must again govern by consent of Parliament in democratic instead of autocratic fashion? The Allied Governments have for the last year been able to do whatever they liked to Germany, have been in a position to take ships and rolling stock, and harbour equipment, and coal, and everything they desired. It is not to be wondered at that they are anxious to delay the coming of the time when their power over Germany is definitely limited to the provisions contained in a Treaty set down in black and white.

No Peace with Turkey Yet.

The conclusion of Peace with Germany seems near at last, but no move at all appears to have been made to make peace with the Turks, and begin parcelling out their Empire amongst the victors. The plain truth is that whilst France, and England, and Greece, and Italy, are anxious to snap up portions of Asia Minor which will prove profitable to them, none is at all desirous of undertaking the thankless and profitless task of establishing protectorates over other districts from which they can draw nothing but trouble. Smyrna is worth having, and Greece has got it. Syria is easily accessible and fertile, the French are already in occupation. Adalia and the coast line are fruitful and offer great opportunities. Italy is in possession. For strategic reasons, Palestine is deemed necessary to protect the Suez Canal, and we find Great Britain firmly established

there. Northern Mesopotamia and the Shat-el-Arab promise to give good returns to whoever possesses them, and the British are there. They are also in Central Mesopotamia, but do not propose to develop it. In fact, the irrigation schemes started by the Turks have been abandoned, but we must have the rivers to maintain communication with the valuable land to the north. To the north again is Armenia, but no one wants to assume responsibility for the Armenians. There is nothing in it save endless trouble and certain ingratitude. Plenty of Powers would be glad to have Constantinople, and thus control the gateway of Russia, but not one would trust the other there. Some scheme of internationalisation is to be adopted instead, but an unexpected complication will arise if a strong Russia demands a say in the matter. Meanwhile the Turks are realising that their old game of setting one Power against the other is by no means played out. They remain in possession of Constantinople, have won back Transcaucasia, and are apparently supreme in Armenia. As far as one can gather, the British got on very well with them in Cilicia, but have now departed, and have left the place to the French, who do not hit it with the Turks at all. Trouble is sure to occur in this district before long. The continued postponement of any settlement of the Turkish question cannot but embolden the Ottomans, and must make the final solution still more difficult.

• **Lord Curzon: Arch-Priest of Secret Diplomacy.**

Naturally Great Britain is anxious to avoid taking on any responsibilities which bring her no return, for, as a result of the war, she has immense additional areas to govern. In addition, she has much trouble on her hands in Egypt and India, not to mention Ireland. That being so, one is rather surprised that she should have assumed control of Persia on top of everything else. The real reason, though, is not far to seek. The people of Great Britain are, of course, never consulted at all in foreign affairs, nor, indeed, is Parliament. The conduct of these is left entirely in the hands of the Foreign Minister, who sometimes, but not always, consults his colleagues. The war itself is ample evidence that

this is a very bad plan indeed, for, Sir Edward Grey, when Foreign Minister, committed the country to carry out obligations of which most of his Ministerial colleagues were quite ignorant. The pernicious custom is, however, being continued, and, that being the case, we must deplore the fact that Lord Curzon is in charge of the foreign policy of the country. He is a Tory Imperialist of the old school, utterly out of tune with the ideals of what may be called the new diplomacy. He is all for acquiring influence and territory, especially in the Middle East, where he has travelled extensively. He published two portentous tomes about his journeys in Persia, and first as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and then as Viceroy of India he had ample opportunities of carrying on his policy of expansion. Although Mr. Balfour was nominally in control of the Foreign Office when the arrangement with Persia was concluded, Lord Curzon was his understudy, and actually responsible. The ostensible reason for the subjugation of Persia is that India must be safeguarded, —from whom it is difficult to say! At one time, whenever we annexed a new province on the Indian border, it was possible to justify the acquisition on the ground that if we did not grab it Russia would, and later the bugbear of German aggression was the excuse for further expansion through Baluchistan. Neither of these excuses can now be used.

The Worm Turns.

It is significant that whilst Lloyd George was declaring that there was no secret diplomacy going on or secret arrangements being made, this agreement with Persia was being fixed up without the knowledge of any of our Allies, and, of course, without the knowledge of the British Parliament or people. It may be much the best thing for Persia to fall under British control, but the method by which this happening was brought about has certainly not added to British prestige in Europe, and gives us an uneasy feeling that the British nation may again be tied up all unknowingly in such a way that it may be involved once more in some struggle in which it has not the slightest direct interest. It is high time that Parliament insisted on knowing what its servant, the Foreign Minister, is up to. Unfortunately, the present Par-

liament consists of a great majority of totally subservient members who were elected in a khaki election on purely irrelevant issues. They do as they are told by Lloyd George, and the Labour and Liberal members are swamped. There are signs, however, that even this "tied" House is getting restive. It has demanded that the Prime Minister shall attend its sittings sometimes, and under its criticism he has disbanded the War Cabinet, and gone back to the old system which he so criticised Mr. Asquith for persisting in. He and his Ministers are evidently beginning to realise slowly that the war is over, and their autocratic rule is ending. They take ill, though, to Parliamentary control, and England will probably not get back to a democratic Government until after the next election when a Labour and Liberal majority is almost certain. One of the first acts of a Liberal Parliament would be to curtail the power of the Foreign Minister, and to insist that no understandings or alliances should be made or be binding until approved by both Houses. Meanwhile, though, Lord Curzon may do any amount of mischief with his secret diplomacy and expansive notions.

Do as You Would be Done By.

The Americans recently relieved the Allies of the necessity of immediate interest payment on moneys advanced, and have, in fact, shown themselves more than ready to make any reasonable concessions to help the Allies in their difficult financial position. Despite this, one rarely hears any expression of gratitude for this, in Australia at any rate; in fact, the usual comment here is, "So they ought to. See what they have made out of the war." That, apparently, is the view taken in France, Belgium, and Italy of Great Britain. All these countries owe England large sums of money, their currencies, as valued in pounds sterling, have greatly depreciated, and they are obliged in consequence to pay exceedingly stiff prices for the many things they must buy in the United Kingdom. M. Klotz, the French Minister of Finance, recently advised France to take advantage of exchange where it was favourable, and declared that there was no reason why France should pay America and Great Britain high

prices for goods which were procurable from Germany on more favourable terms. The French Government has, in fact, informed all French buyers in an official note that they should consider it a duty to buy machinery in Germany. The position is that the French manufacturer desirous of buying a £3000 machine in England would have to pay 110,000 francs for it at the present exchange. The same machine, sold in Germany for 60,000 marks, would cost him only 20,000 francs. Is it surprising that the foolish boycott idea is unpopular in France? The French, Italians and other Allies of ours are quite convinced that Great Britain has got much more out of this war than any other nation, and, apparently, consider that she ought to show them the same consideration the Americans are extending to them and to her as well. It is hardly feasible for the British Government to ask the Americans to fund its obligations to them if it does not first agree to fund or wipe out the debts owed Great Britain by her European Allies. All that has been done in this direction thus far is to transfer the Belgian debt to Germany. The Allies provided in the Treaty that the whole of Belgium's pre-Armistice debt to them—Britain's share was about £75,000,000—was to be transferred to and collected from Germany. Belgium, however, has since borrowed £23,000,000 from Great Britain, on which she must pay interest, and it is being freely urged in England that this debt should be written off. Whether it is or not it is obvious enough that the Home Government cannot ask America for relief which it is not in turn willing to extend to its own creditors.

England's Tangled Finances.

The amazing change which came over Mr. Chamberlain and the British Government during the last week in October is no more understandable now that the complete figures given by the Chancellor have reached Australian than it was in the cables. In his estimate of August, Mr. Chamberlain set down revenue at £1,201,000,000, and expenditure at £1,451,000,000, the anticipated deficit being £250,000,000. At the end of October he produced a revised estimate, with revenue down £32,000,000, to £1,169,000,000, and expenditure up

£191,000,000 to £1,642,000,000 leaving a deficit of £473,000,000 for the year. Actually the position was worse, as, in his first estimate, he allowed £16,000,000 for contingencies and omitted to do so in the second. It is a curious fact that the increased deficit almost exactly coincided with the amount raised in cash and Treasury bills by the Funding loan and Victory bonds. This certainly justified the attitude of those who refused to subscribe on the ground that all they gave would be muddled away by the Government. It will be recalled that in August the Chancellor of the Exchequer talked of impending bankruptcy, but in giving his new estimates, with an actual increased deficit of no less than £240,000,000, he was cheerful and Mr. Lloyd George, was facetious. In the original estimate Mr. Chamberlain put down £69,000,000 as coming from Germany to pay for the army of occupation. That he was obliged to do because of the Prime Minister's promise that Germany would be made to pay. Actually, however, it was found that Germany could not pay. Then the already outrageously high army estimate was increased by no less than £118,000,000! Mr. Chamberlain, however, assured the House that there was to be no increased taxation; in fact, he declared his intention of foregoing half the Excess Profit's tax. He intends to regard as revenue all the proceeds from the sale of war material, which had been paid for out of borrowed money and ought to have been set against the war debt. The Chancellor proposes to borrow some £500,000,000 to make good the deficit, and this despite the fact that the Victory loan was a failure!

No Cause for Uneasiness!

Mr. Chamberlain's figures are difficult to follow. As illustrating their accuracy, we find the sum due from Belgium set down at £98,000,000, in which is obviously included the pre-Armistice loans, which have been transferred to Germany. In his first estimate he put the total debt down at £7,600,000,000, and asked for £400,000,000 to cover interest and sinking fund. In his second he shows that the debt has increased to more than £8,000,000,000, but asks for only £360,000,000 for interest and sinking fund! No wonder people are bewildered. During the war the Exchequer

was most careful to point out that it was scrupulously maintaining a 33 per cent. gold backing for the bank notes issued. Mr. Chamberlain has now to admit that this was camouflage, and that whilst there was the 33 per cent. cover for "bank" notes, there was next to none for "currency" notes, which were to all intents and purposes the same thing. There are, it seems, no less than £337,000,000 worth of these "currency" notes in circulation, with a cover of only 8 per cent. in gold. There appears to be, in addition, a floating unfunded debt of £1,286,000,000. Mr. Lloyd George achieved a great Parliamentary triumph when he spoke on the budget, but whilst he carried members with him his speech did nothing to elucidate the mystery or explain why, when bankruptcy threatened with a deficit of £250,000,000 in August, there was no need whatever for alarm when that deficit was suddenly doubled in October. Evidently the Government is merely bidding for a passing popularity by refusing to impose increased taxation or to exercise economy. It will leave to others the clearing up of the financial mess into which it is hastening the country.

He Forgot About Russia!

One of the chief items responsible for Mr. Chamberlain's great error in estimating expenditure was the cost of the war in Russia. Apparently Mr. Churchill had not thought to tell him that the army commitments there were heavy, and the Chancellor evidently did not remember that to wage war, even in an out-of-the-way place like Russia, cost money. It appears that something like £100,000,000 has been spent on the futile Archangel expedition, and the equally futile assistance given Koltchak and Denekine. Mr. Lloyd George, however, now says that we will stop subsidising the anti-Bolshevik leaders, merely throwing as a last bouquet a little matter of £17,000,000 worth of ammunition and war stores to Denekine. It is carefully explained that this material was unsaleable, so apparently the new policy is to fire off all unsaleable shells and bullets at the Bolsheviks which perhaps explains why British warships have been fruitlessly peppering Russian strongholds about Petrograd. Koltchak, after his latest failures, has been in evident dis-

favour with the Allies, who have pinned their faith in Denekine. His methods, however, are condemned by the very soldiers France and Britain sent to aid him and now that their support is withdrawn and no more money will be forthcoming his final defeat is to be anticipated. Recent visitors to Russia have furnished what is probably the true explanation of the somewhat spasmodic efforts of the Bolshevik armies. These undoubtedly achieve great successes against their foes—they never of course win a victory—but having driven them back they seem to relax their efforts and later re-appear somewhere else. It seems that they have plenty of rifles and heavy guns, but are obliged to wait for ammunition from Russian factories. When they have a good supply of this they proceed to smash the invading army which most seriously threatens, and in so doing fire away all the shells, and bullets, and bombs, they possess. They then sit down and wait, or withdraw somewhere, whilst more ammunition is produced for their use.

Will Russia Copy France?

Having decided to get out of Russia altogether Great Britain, France and America appear to have consented to the Japanese having an entirely free hand in Siberia. The Japs. can, if they so desire, land a huge army there to support Koltchak, but we may take it for granted that they will not worry about helping him to invade Russia, and re-establish the bad old system of Government the Allies apparently desired to have once more set up in Petrograd. They will, without doubt, take full advantage of the permitted free hand to secure whatever portions of Eastern Siberia seem best unto them. Meanwhile the blockade of Bolshevik Russia is apparently to continue, and newspapers will, no doubt, still chronicle now and again, with apparent joy, that so and so many thousands of Russians have starved to death in Moscow, in Petrograd, and in other large cities. Nothing succeeds like success, however, and the victories which the Bolshevik armies are winning over those the Allies have hitherto supported will undoubtedly make due impression on the Governments of Europe. The same sort of thing appears to be happening in Russia as occurred in France over a century ago. Having overthrown

a selfish and cruel aristocracy, the French people were determined to secure liberty and equal rights for all. Ground down as they had been for centuries beneath the iron heel of the King and his court, small wonder that they went to terrible extremes when the power was theirs. Attacked on every side by the partisans of the old regime, who had the cordial support of Austria, England and Prussia, the rabble armies of the new Republic were sorely smitten. As time went on, however, the soldiers of the old monarchy, seeing France threatened, rallied to the support of the new Republic, and soon the invading armies were thrust off the soil of France. Not content with this achievement, however, the enthusiastic men who had toppled over a throne endeavoured to extend their dominion, and to liberate other down-trodden peoples. Success crowned their efforts, but finally the vaulting ambition of Napoleon seized the instrument which had been created to protect France, and used it to conquer the world.

If the Russians Use Their Strength.

The Bolsheviks desired to be left in peace, they were against war, and won to power because they promised the people that they would pull out of the struggle. But, attacked on every side, blockaded, starved, they saw that only by opposing force with force could they hope to maintain their Republic. At first their armies were but rabble, ill-armed, badly disciplined, poorly led. Animated though by a determination to eject the invader and prevent a return of the Tsarist regime they managed with great difficulty to hold their own, though often defeated, often overwhelmed. But the old soldiers of the Tsar, who saw the very existence of Russia threatened, took hold of the Bolshevik armies, and soon began to inflict severe defeats on their adversaries, capturing ever more and more guns and rifles which they used with effect on every Front. Again and again the utter defeat of these armies was reported, again and again we were told that the Bolshevik Government was on the eve of collapse, but to-day we learn that Russia is practically cleared of the troops which were led by the men the Allies were actively supporting, are told that the "tattered" Bolshevik armies are well armed, well drilled, finely led.

They have already passed in Russia the stage of the Valmy battle in the French Revolution where the raw levies of Kellerman hurled the great army of the Duke of Brunswick out of France. In efficiency they would seem to be more like the troops which Napoleon, two years later, led into Italy. Fortunately for Europe, the Russian has far different ideals than the Frenchman. He is not a war-like person, and does not care for fighting. If he did, what chance would the Allies have of preventing the armies of Lenin over-running Roumania, Poland and Hungary, where they would find plenty of fervent sympathisers? It was because he was able to obtain assistance from the German kingdoms that Napoleon found it possible to overcome Austria and eventually to penetrate to Moscow.

Lenin May Reject Peace.

If Lenin, like the Saracens of old, were convinced that his faith could best be forced on the rest of the world at the point of the sword terrible things might yet happen in Europe. Fortunately the Bolsheviks, much abused as they are, believe in peaceful, not warlike, penetration, and have already shown that they would make peace with the Allies, for the curious thing is that it is not they who are fighting us; it is we who are fighting them. The danger, of course, is that they may so resent our blockade methods and the efforts we have made to upset them that they would prefer to agree with the Germans in the gate rather than with us. At the same time they, no doubt, recognise that had we refused to support the anti-Bolshevik factions they could not have counted on the people rallying behind them as they have done, might have gone down before some powerful combination of their local enemies. Lloyd George stated that he could not begin negotiations with Lenin because the Bolshevik Government ruled over only a portion of Russia. That objection can no longer hold good. We do not know, of course, how Lenin regards the setting up of Poland, the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania or the creation of independent governments in Esthonia and the Baltic Provinces. Quite conceivably he may object to having Russia cut up in this way, although we

have to admit that the Bolsheviks have all along recognised the right of peoples to determine their own form of Government. At the same time there are indications that Lenin desires to create a United States of Russia, is averse to allowing provinces to slough off altogether.

The Fiume Question Again!

Gabriele d'Annunzio seems still to be in Fiume. His departure was chronicled in all the papers, but it is apparently impossible to get accurate information about even so handy a place as Fiume. The filibuster poet took a plebiscite of the city some time ago, and obtained an overwhelming majority in his favour. It appears, however, that he took careful measures to make certain that the result was right. For instance, he had all the bridges and roads guarded in order to prevent Jugo-Slavs getting to the city to record their votes, and did everything possible to secure an almost unanimous verdict. He did not, however, bring the millennium with him, and the people themselves began to object to his presence. He is now discredited, but the Government at Rome is evidently determined that Italian possession of Fiume shall continue, whether unofficially through d'Annunzio, or officially by means of its own forces. The Prime Minister, Signor Nitti, speaking in Parliament, contradicted M. Clemenceau's statement that, under the famous secret Pact of London, Croatia was entitled to claim Fiume. This Pact has been published in full, and it certainly does not allocate Fiume to Italy, but, say the Italians, the Croats—being at the time included in Austria—were not parties to the agreement, and have therefore no claim to the city. Rather an extraordinary argument, but one which proves clearly enough that Italy does not propose to relinquish Fiume so opportunely secured, against the Government's orders, by d'Annunzio. It would be extremely interesting to know whether Trieste, under Italian domination, is being used at all as a port by Jugo-Slavia, Hungary and Austria, or whether the decay prophesied for it has already begun.

Killing the Babies.

In Australia we are so far away from the scene of the late struggle, that we cannot realise the ghastly aftermath of

war. With plenty to eat and drink, with money to spend and work to do, we fail altogether to understand the position in mid-Europe to-day. Hunger, disease and misery stalk through the land. The horror of the life there is indescribable. Vienna is a doomed city. Buda-Pesth has been pillaged and ground beneath the feet of revengeful invaders. The people not only lack food, they lack hope. The will to live has in many cases vanished, for what is there to hope for? A continued existence in terrible conditions with want and fear lurking round every corner. For years the workmen of Germany have been steadily striving to improve their condition; they have suddenly lost all they had gained. Under the terms of the Peace Treaty they will be forced to work indefinitely for others—why try to work at all? But hard as is the lot of the grown men, that of the children, in Austria particularly, is far worse. The British White Books, telling of the situation in Central Europe, as our experts found it, are quite convincing enough, but the reports of all visitors to those districts confirm and amplify their dread statements. Food is the first necessity, and a revision of the Treaty terms the second. In all Allied countries funds are being raised to provide milk and food for the babies. Such a fund has been started in Australia, and it is to be hoped help will be sent from here as well as from England and America. As was to be expected, objection has been taken by some fanatical "patriots" to money being given to try and save the starving children of an enemy country. Those who desire these babies to die are at any rate logical, as the blockade and the forced surrender of immense numbers of locomotive and trucks brought about the conditions which now exist in Austria and Germany. These "patriots" are merely carrying on that war-after-war which Mr. Hughes has always so strongly advocated. A true blue patriot, of course, would never be haunted by the ghosts of shrivelled infants he had condemned to death!

Another Attempt to Settle the Irish Question.

Yet another attempt is being made by Lloyd George to settle the Irish question. The desperate state of Ireland and the fact that the Home Rule Act will automatically come into force shortly

have forced the Government to try and find some solution of a problem it has steadily avoided during the war. The proposal is to have two Lower Houses, one for Southern Ireland and one for Northern Ireland, with a single Upper House, consisting of representatives of both Legislatures. The Imperial Parliament would retain control over foreign relations, defence, navigation, trade outside Ireland, wireless and cables, trade marks and lighthouses. Also over the higher judiciary. So that Ireland should have a say in these matters it would have representation in the Imperial Parliament. Its members there would be reduced to 40, however. In time it is hoped that the two sections of Ireland would unite. Until they did so, the post office, and the collection of customs and excise would remain in Imperial hands. Each of the Irish Legislatures would have wide powers of taxation, but the income tax, super-tax, and excess profits tax would be levied by the British Parliament. They would have full control of education, local government, land, agriculture, roads, bridges, railways and canals, old age pensions, insurance, municipal affairs, the local judiciary, hospitals, labour legislation, licensing, the police (after three years), and the lower judiciary. It is proposed that Ireland shall contribute £18,000,000 a year towards Imperial expenditure. The revenue last year was £41,438,000, and the expenditure £23,500,000.

A Limited Independence.

No definite scheme for the division of Ireland into two parts was put forward, but four alternatives were suggested. The first is that Ulster should form one unit, and the other three Provinces the other; the second is that each country should decide by referendum to which unit it would belong; the third is that the six north-eastern counties of Ulster should form one unit, and the remaining three should join with the other three Provinces to make the other. A final suggestion is that, so far as possible, Roman Catholic communities in the north, and Protestant communities in coterminous counties should join the second and first units respectively. Full details of the scheme are not available yet, and endless questions naturally spring to one's lips, but it is clear that there is to be no sever-

ance of the nature desired by the Sinn Feiners. There is to be no interference whatever in the internal affairs of Ireland by Great Britain, but Ireland is to pay a regular subsidy to England for the maintenance of an Imperial army and navy. The two parts of Ireland, that is to say, would enjoy the independence of States in the United States of America, but would be a long way from receiving the complete freedom of a Dominion within the Empire. Canada, for instance, pays no subsidy to England for the upkeep of army and navy, Australia does not permit the Imperial Government to levy and collect income tax. New Zealand would brook no interference on the part of Great Britain in customs matters, nor would South Africa agree to have England control its higher judiciary.

Curious Financial Proposals.

Sir Edward Carson has already declared his opposition to the scheme, and it is certain that the Irish leaders will not approve it. It is clear that the Lloyd George Government will not give any further "concessions" to Ireland, and that the present proposal is the result of long and careful consideration by the leaders of the Coalition Party which is supreme in Parliament, even though it has not the country behind it, as the recent by-elections have shown. As far as the financial proposals are concerned, it hardly seems fair that Ireland, with its 4,337,000 people, should be asked to contribute £18,000,000 to the upkeep of an army and navy which in 1913-14 cost £80,000,000. On a population basis the Irish contribution should be at most £8,000,000. It is hardly likely that when we get back to normal conditions anything like £200,000,000 will be required for the Imperial navy and army, yet that amount would have to be expended if a contribution of £18,000,000 were justified. On the same basis Australia would be expected to contribute over £20,000,000 annually to the Imperial Exchequer! At the present time Ireland is the most prosperous part of the United Kingdom, possibly of the British Empire, but the methods which have recently been employed by the Dublin Castle authorities to "settle" the dissatisfaction in the country have intensified the hatred of English rule which years of

unfortunate government had engendered in the Irish people. It is to be hoped that the present scheme will be accepted by them as a first instalment towards complete self-government, but, in view of their present temper, it is exceedingly unlikely. The case of Chaplain O'Donnell gave the world a good illustration of the manner in which the military are ruling Ireland, and coercion is obviously being used more drastically than ever before. Like the Bolsheviks the Sinn Feiners have come to the belief that those who use force respect only force, and that, therefore, they must retaliate on their oppressors in kind. Thus we have had an increasing number of "outrages" in Ireland, culminating in an attempt to murder Lord French. The would-be assassins failed, fortunately, and the deed has been repudiated by the Bishops and other Irish leaders, but it is symptomatic of the fierce resentment which the coercive measures of the Lord Lieutenant have aroused throughout the country.

Mr. Hughes Secures an Absolute Majority.

The final results concerning the election of representatives are at last available. Labour has gained three seats only, going back twenty-six strong. Mr. Hughes' party has lost nine seats, three to Labour, and six to the Farmers. Thus the Nationalists (forty) alone have apparently a majority of five in the House (of seventy-five). It is doubtful, though, if all the forty set down as Nationalists are supporters of the Hughes Government. The Farmers' support will, no doubt, be forthcoming, but his semi-dependence on them should have a sobering effect on Mr. Hughes. Mr. McGrath was defeated by one vote for Ballarat, and will certainly appeal concerning the validity of some of the doubtful votes which were finally counted. It is unlikely that this appeal will give him the seat. It is unfortunate that Mr. Finlayson has been defeated in Brisbane, especially as his defeat appears to have been due chiefly to the fact that his successful opponent happens to have the name of Cameron, and therefore appeared above him on the ballot paper. The result was decided when the preferences of the independent, Mr. Boland, were distributed. It would seem that this candidate, who stood first on the ballot paper, secured the first

preferences of those who voted for the candidates in order as they stood. Mr. Cameron therefore got their second preferences, and Mr. Finlayson their third.

The results of the Senate poll are not yet complete. It is quite obvious though that the bastard system of voting foisted on the public as semi-proportional merely made it more certain that the party having a bare majority of supporters would get all the seats. All the Senators will be Nationalists, with the possible exception of one in New South Wales. A Senate, packed with nothing but Nationalist members, is obviously a farce, and, as the Nationalists may fear that their precious system of voting will benefit the Labour Party next time they will probably set about altering it. As it is, the Senate is far less of a revising body than the House of Lords, against which so much criticism has been directed. A noble Peer, although he usually voted Unionist, did not hesitate to criticise measures of his own party, and often useful amendments have been made in the Upper House. A peer is quite independent of the party organisation. He cannot be dropped at the next election, and cannot therefore be brought to heel by threats of party leaders.

Labour Resentment Against Outside Control.

Presumably Mr. Hughes will go ahead with the formation of a new government in anticipation of obtaining the Farmers' support. It is unlikely that Mr. Higgs' suggestion, that the Labour Party would be inclined to back up the Farmers, will bring any immediate results. Such a proposal would only bear fruit if, after Parliament meets, the Hughes Government is upset by a hostile vote of dissatisfied Nationalists, Farmers, and Labour members. Mr. Higgs, meanwhile, is speaking strongly about the control exercised over Labour members by the executive of the labour organisations outside Parliament. He did not wait until he was elected to take this stand, but openly defied the Queensland executive during the campaign. It had urged electors to vote "No" on the referendum, but he advised them to vote "Yes," on the ground that the Labour leaders in Parliament had approved of the powers asked for being granted, and

that the interference of the executive was unwarranted. It is hardly likely that a split will occur in the ranks of Labour as a result of Mr. Higgs' protests, but it is quite possible that Labour members, irked by outside control, will now make a strong effort to rid themselves thereof. The referenda, as was expected, have been defeated, and Mr. Hughes will be able to excuse himself for doing nothing to curb the profiteer by saying that the people have refused to give him the power so to do.

New Zealand Notes.

Not even Mr. Massey anticipated the sweeping victory that was to be his at the general elections. Speaking at Auckland town hall a few days before the ballot was taken, he expressed the fear that his party would not have an absolute majority, and that Labour would be able to turn the balance in favour of the Liberals. But the voting gave Mr. Massey's party forty-five seats in a parliament of eighty, the Liberals winning only twenty, Labour eleven, and Independents four. The Liberals have lost eleven from their strength. The Reformers (as the Conservative Government's supporters call themselves) are stronger by five. Labour has three more seats than in the last parliament, and there are four Independents in place of one. Three of the Labour members are independent of the Party caucus, so that Mr. Holland's official party will comprise eight. These all come from the cities, with the exception of Mr. Holland himself, who represents a constituency with a large mining population. Labour leaders certainly expected larger gains, and the victories won by three of their most radical leaders in by-elections during the war seemed to justify their confidence. But it was not to be. Labour's great discomfiture was in Wellington South, where the sitting member, Mr. R. Semple, was defeated by Colonel G. Mitchell, D.S.O. Mr. Semple had been elected just a year earlier, with an absolute majority over two other candidates. His record was that of a most successful strike organiser, a devotee to Socialism, a candid opponent of the war. Like Mr. Holland and Mr. Fraser, he had tasted the bitterness of prison for his convictions. That such a man should be elected just

at the close of the victorious war surprised many; now the many are wondering why he has been rejected so soon. Was his previous election due to a sympathy vote, his predecessor, Mr. Hindmarsh, having been a Labour member? That is not likely, as Mr. Semple, though defeated, actually gained 900 more votes at this ballot than at the last. His opponent's personal popularity, and the qualities of leadership that won him high rank in the war, were undoubtedly large factors. The policies Colonel Mitchell advocated as an Independent were almost as radical as those of the Labour Party, including proportional representation, State shipping services, increase of land taxes and death duties, national pensions for the old, the sick, children and widows.

The influence of the Protestant Political Association was directed against the Labour candidates. The leaders of that movement have also taken glory unto themselves for the defeat of Sir Joseph Ward, who is a Roman Catholic. Their influence is equally admitted by those who deplore the introduction of sectarianism. One may wonder to what extent the victory of Mr. Massey's party throughout the country was due to the work of the Protestant Political Association. Probably it was of much less weight than the party's war record, and the "good times," which, in spite of high cost of living, most folk are enjoying. More than one Labour leader has said that the people must be hungry before they will think.

Two women stood for Auckland electorates, and Miss Melville, a member of Auckland City Council, was a good second among five candidates. Clutha Mackenzie, the blind "digger," came near to overthrowing an opponent of Cabinet rank—Hon. A. M. Myers.

Unquestionably the popularity of the present Government arises mainly from the fact, whether the Government is responsible for it or not, that the land is flowing with milk and money. Its strength lies in the country districts, which benefit most from the present high prices of produce and rising price of land. That this false prosperity cannot continue is recognised by all who take the trouble to think, and some serious warnings of the coming consequences have been uttered.

West Australian Notes.

A reduction of the weekly work to 44 hours has of late become part of nearly every appeal to the Arbitration Court. There is obviously system in this uniform demand. Many workers do not wish to labour any longer on Saturdays. And, as often as not, the Court has granted them the 44 hours. The most notable instance is the new Railway Arbitration Award. A number of railway workers having declared in their evidence that the men could, and would, do as much work in 44 hours as in the old 48-hour week, the Court acquiesced, as a kind of experiment. The railway authorities are making the best of this new order of things, hoping that the men will make good their testimony in Court. The recently appointed new Railway Commissioner (Colonel Pope) had a little heart-to-heart talk with the 2700 odd men in the construction shops at Midland Junction. He appealed for the men's honest co-operation, and expressed the hope that now that Saturday work had ceased, "going slow" would also stop. Meanwhile the public find the higher cost of railway working already passed on to their shoulders: Parcel-rates and season-tickets have been raised, and return and daily workers' tickets abolished altogether. Only in the metropolitan area return tickets will remain in operation.

Whosoever feels cramped in the closer-settled Eastern States, will be relieved to know that W.A., at any rate, still contains enormous tracts of good country, with never a white man to exploit its latent wealth—millions of unexploited acres. In the West Kimberley alone—so reports the Special Committee charged with the investigation of that district—there is a stretch of 17,000,000 acres of pastoral country suitable for cattle and sheep raising, with a coast line exceeding 900 miles, and several ideal harbours. Attractive as this proposition may seem to intending squatters, the committee warns against hasty settlement. It emphasises that ample capital, experience, and, above all, thorough knowledge of the ways and vices of the natives in that particular locality are indispensable for success. The natives are the worst difficulty. They are treacherous and intractable.

M.R.

Perth, 29/12/19.

A True Account of Bolshevik Russia

In May, 1919, Mr. W. C. Bullitt was sent to Russia by President Wilson to report on the conditions there, and to get into touch with M. Lenin. Reference has already been made in *STEAD'S* to the Peace offer he brought back with him, which was talked over with Lloyd George, but of which the British Prime Minister declared in Parliament he had no knowledge! At first he was exceedingly anxious that Mr. Bullitt should publish his report, and most of the other Peace Commissioners took the same view. President Wilson decided, however, that it was not to be given out, and it was not until the Foreign Relations' Committee of the American Senate examined Mr. Bullitt that his report was made public.

According to him, Lloyd George said: "Of course all the reports we get from people we send to Russia are in this same general direction, but we have got to send in somebody who is known to the whole world as a complete Conservative, in order to have the whole world believe that the report he brings is not simply the utterance of a radical." From this we may infer that in May last the British government was fully aware of the real stability of the Bolshevik Government, and knew quite well that by supporting Denekine and Kolitchak the Allies were actually consolidating the Russian nation against them. Yet, for months intervention was strongly carried on, and accounts of the parlous state of the Bolsheviki, and of the imminent fall of Lenin, were allowed to appear daily in the press. We now see that all this talk about Bolshevik outrages, disorganisation, and tottering inefficiency, was nothing but propaganda intended to justify the Allies in an entirely unjustified attempt to foist a Government on the Russians to which they were wholly averse.

Nine months ago the Allied leaders were in possession of Mr. Bullitt's report, and had confirmatory evidence to prove its accuracy. They knew that Lenin was getting more and more powerful hold on the Russian people; they knew that even if they were able to

overthrow him by force, they would have to maintain large armies in Russia to prevent the upsetting of the new government they set up; they knew that the blockade was starving thousands to death to no good purpose, and yet they persevered in the policy which they knew must fail, and which they have now found it impossible to continue.

In view of the steady success of the Bolshevik armies, we may assume that the state of affairs in Russia under Lenin's rule is better to-day than it was nine months ago, when Mr. Bullitt visited the country. As, however, there are such wild and ridiculous stories going about as to what the Bolsheviks have done, and propose to do, it is worth while reprinting Mr. Bullitt's statement of May last. It is divided into two parts, a general summary, and a more particular appendix, telling of the actual conditions he found in Russia.

ECONOMIC SITUATION.

Russia to-day is in a condition of acute economic distress. The blockade by land and sea is the cause of this distress, and lack of the essentials of transportation is its gravest symptom. Only one-fourth of the locomotives which ran on Russian lines before the war are now available for use. Furthermore, Soviet Russia is cut off entirely from all supplies of coal and petrol. In consequence, transportation by all steam and electric vehicles is greatly hampered, and transportation by automobile, and by the fleet of petrol-using Volga steamers and canal boats is impossible.

As a result of these hindrances to transportation it is possible to bring from the grain centres to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day, instead of the 100 carloads which are essential, and to Petrograd only fifteen carloads, instead of the essential fifty. In consequence, every man, woman and child in Moscow and Petrograd is suffering from slow starvation.

Mortality is particularly high among new-born children, whose mothers cannot suckle them, among newly-delivered mothers, and among the aged. The en-

ture population, in addition, is exceptionally susceptible to disease; and a slight illness is apt to result fatally, because of the total lack of medicines. Typhoid, typhus, and small-pox are epidemic in both Petrograd and Moscow.

Industry, except the production of munitions of war, is largely at a standstill. Nearly all means of transport which are not employed in carrying food are used to supply the army, and there is scarcely any surplus transport to carry materials essential to normal industry. Furthermore, the army has absorbed the best executive brains and physical vigour of the nation. In addition, Soviet Russia is cut off from most of its sources of iron and of cotton. Only the flax, hemp, wood, and lumber industries have an adequate supply of raw material.

On the other hand, such essentials of economic life as are available are being utilised to the utmost by the Soviet Government. Such trains as there are, run on time. The distribution of food is well controlled. Many industrial experts of the old regime are again managing their plants, and sabotage by such managers has ceased. Loafing by the workmen during work hours has been overcome.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The destructive phase of the revolution is over, and all the energy of the Government is turned to constructive work. The terror has ceased. Executions are extremely rare. Good order has been established. The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight. Family life has been unchanged by the revolution, the canard in regard to "nationalisation of women" notwithstanding.

POLITICAL SITUATION.

The Soviet form of government is firmly established. Perhaps the most striking fact in Russia to-day is the general support which is given the Government by the people, in spite of their starvation. Indeed, the people lay the blame for their distress wholly on the blockade, and on the Governments which maintain it. The Soviet form of government seems to have become to the Russian people the symbol of their revolution. Unquestionably it is a form of

government which lends itself to gross abuse and tyranny, but it meets the demand of the moment in Russia, and it has acquired so great a hold on the imagination of the common people, that the women are ready to starve, and the young men to die for it.

The position of the Communist Party (formerly Bolsheviks) is also very strong. Blockade and intervention have caused the chief opposition parties, the Right Social Revolutionaries, and the Mensheviks, to give temporary support to the Communists. These opposition parties have both made formal statements against the blockade, intervention, and the support of anti-Soviet Governments by the Allied and Associated Governments. Their leaders, Vol'sky and Martov, are most vigorous in their demands for the immediate raising of the blockade and peace.

Indeed, the only ponderable opposition to the Communists to-day comes from more Radical parties—the Left Social Revolutionaries and the Anarchists. These parties, in published statements, call the Communists, and particularly Lenin and Tchitcherin, "the paid bourgeois gendarmes of the *Entente*." They attack the Communists because the Communists have encouraged scientists, engineers, and industrial experts of the bourgeois class to take important posts under the Soviet Government at high pay. They rage against the employment of bourgeois officers in the army, and against the efforts of the Communists to obtain peace. They demand the immediate massacre of all the bourgeoisie, and an immediate declaration of war on all non-revolutionary Governments. They argue that the *Entente* Governments should be forced to intervene more deeply in Russia, asserting that such action would surely provoke the proletariat of all European countries to immediate revolution.

Within the Communist Party itself there is a distinct division of opinion in regard to foreign policy, but this disagreement has not developed personal hostility or open breach in the ranks of the party. Trotski, the Generals, and many theorists believe the Red Army should go forward everywhere until more vigorous intervention by the *Entente* is provoked, which they, too, count upon to bring revolution in France

and England. Their attitude is not a little coloured by pride in the spirited young army. Lenin, Tchitcherin, and the bulk of the Communist Party, on the other hand, insist that the essential problem at present is to save the proletariat of Russia, in particular, and the proletariat of Europe, in general, from starvation, and assert that it will benefit the revolution but little to conquer all Europe if the Government of the United States replies by starving all Europe. They advocate, therefore, the conciliation of the United States, even at the cost of compromising with many of the principles they hold most dear. And Lenin's prestige in Russia at present is so overwhelming that the Trotsky group is forced reluctantly to follow him.

Lenin, indeed, as a practical matter, stands well to the right in the existing political life of Russia. He recognises the undesirability, from the Socialist viewpoint, of the compromises he feels compelled to make; but he is ready to make the compromises. Among the more notable concessions he has already made are: The abandonment of his plan to nationalise the land, and the adoption of the policy of dividing it among the peasants, the establishment of savings banks paying three per cent. interest, the decision to pay all foreign debts, and the decision to give concessions if that shall prove to be necessary to obtain credit abroad.

In a word, Lenin feels compelled to retreat from his theoretical position all along the line. He is ready to meet the Western Governments half way.

PEACE PROPOSALS.

Lenin seized upon the opportunity presented by my trip of investigation to make a definite statement of the position of the Soviet Government. He was opposed by Trotsky and the Generals, but without much difficulty got the "support of the majority of the Executive Council, and the statement of the position of the Soviet Government which was handed to me was finally adopted unanimously.

APPENDIX.

TRANSPORT.

Locomotives.—Before the war Russia had 22,000 locomotives. Destruction by wear and tear have reduced the number

of locomotives in good order to 5500. Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of spare parts and materials for repair facilities for the manufacture of which do not exist in Russia. And the Soviet Government is able only with the greatest difficulty to keep in running order the few locomotives at its disposal.

Coal.—Soviet Russia is entirely cut off from supplies of coal. Koltchak holds the Perm mining district, although Soviet troops are now on the edge of it. Denekine still holds the larger part of the Donetz coal district, and has destroyed the mines in the portion of the district which he has evacuated. As a result of this, locomotives, electrical power plants, etc., must be fed with wood, which is enormously expensive and laborious, and comparatively ineffectual.

Petrol.—There is a total lack of petrol, due to the British occupation of Baku. The few automobiles in the cities which are kept running for vital Government business are fed with substitute mixtures, which causes them to break down with great frequency, and to miss continually. Almost the entire fleet on the grand inland waterway system of Russia was propelled by petrol. As a result, the Volga and the canals, which are so vital a part of Russia's system of transportation, are useless.

FOOD.

Everyone is hungry in Moscow and Petrograd, including the people's commissaries themselves. The daily ration of Lenin and the other commissaries is the same as that of a soldier in the army, or of a workman at hard labour.

Occasionally sugar, butter, and chickens slip through from the Ukraine and are sold secretly at atrocious prices; butter, for example, at 140 roubles a pound. Whenever the Government is able to get its hands on any such "luxuries" it turns them over to the schools, where an attempt is made to give every child a good dinner every day.

MANAGEMENT.

Such supplies as are available in Soviet Russia are being utilised with considerable skill. For example, in spite of the necessity of firing with wood, the Moscow-Petrograd express keeps up to its schedule, and on both occasions when I

made the trip it took but thirteen hours, compared to the twelve hours of pre-war days.

The food control works well, so that there is no abundance alongside of famine. Powerful and weak alike endure about the same degree of starvation.

The Soviet Government has made great efforts to persuade industrial managers and technical experts of the old regime to enter its service. Many very prominent men have done so. And the Soviet Government pays them as high as 45,000 dollars a year for their services, although Lenin gets but 1800 dollars a year. This very anomalous situation arises from the principle that any believing Communist must adhere to the scale of wages established by the Government, but if the Government considers it necessary to have the assistance of any anti-Communist, it is permitted to pay him as much as he demands.

All meetings of workmen during work hours have been prohibited, with the result that the loafing which was so fatal during the Kerensky regime has been overcome and discipline has been restored in the factories as in the army.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Terror.—The Red Terror is over. During the period of its power the Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of the Counter-Revolution, which was the instrument of the Terror, executed about 1500 persons in Petrograd, 500 in Moscow, and 3000 in the remainder of the country—5000 in all Russia. These figures agree with those which were brought back from Russia by Major Wardwell, and inasmuch as I have checked them from Soviet, anti-Soviet, and neutral sources, I believe them to be approximately correct. It is worthy of note in this connection that in the White Terror in Southern Finland alone, according to official figures, General Mannerheim executed without trial 12,000 working men and women.

Order.—One feels as safe in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow as in the streets of Paris or New York. On the other hand, the streets of these cities are dismal, because of the closing of retail shops, whose functions are now concen-

trated in a few large nationalised "department stores." Petrograd, furthermore, has been deserted by half its population; but Moscow teems with twice the number of inhabitants it contained before the war. The only noticeable difference in the theatres, opera, and ballet is that they are now run under the direction of the Department of Education, which prefers classics, and sees to it that working men and women and children are given an opportunity to attend the performances, and that they are instructed beforehand in the significance and beauties of the productions.

Morals.—Prostitutes have disappeared from sight, the economic reasons for their career having ceased to exist. Family life has been absolutely unchanged by the revolution. I have never heard more genuinely mirthful laughter than when I told Lenin, Tchitcherin, and Litvinov that much of the world believed that women had been "nationalised." This lie is so wildly fantastic that they will not even take the trouble to deny it. Respect for womanhood was never greater than in Russia to-day. Indeed, the day I reached Petrograd was a holiday in honour of wives and mothers.

Education.—The achievements of the Department of Education under Lunacharsky have been very great. Not only have all the Russian classics been reprinted in editions of three and five million copies and sold at a low price to the people, but thousands of new schools for men, women and children have been opened in all parts of Russia. Furthermore, working men's and soldiers' clubs have been organised in many of the palaces of yesteryear, where the people are instructed by means of moving pictures and lectures. In the art galleries one meets classes of working men and women being instructed in the beauties of the pictures. The children's schools have been entirely reorganised, and an attempt is being made to give every child a good dinner at school every day. Furthermore, very remarkable schools have been opened for defective and over-nervous children. On the theory that genius and insanity are closely allied, these children are taught from the first to compose music, paint pictures, sculpt, and write poetry, and it is asserted that some

very valuable results have been achieved, not only in the way of productions, but also in the way of restoring the nervous systems of the children.

ARMY.

The Soviet army now numbers between 1,000,000 and 1,200,000 troops of the line. Nearly all these soldiers are young men between the ages of seventeen and twenty-seven. The morale of regiments varies greatly. The convinced Communists, who compose the bulk of the army, fight with crusading enthusiasm. Other regiments, composed of patriots, but non-Communists, are less spirited; other regiments, composed of men who have entered the army for the slightly higher bread ration, are distinctly untrustworthy. Great numbers of officers of the old army are occupying important executive posts in the administration of the new army, but are under control of convinced Communist supervisors. Nearly all the lower grade officers of the army are workmen who have displayed courage in the ranks, and have been trained in special officer schools. Discipline has been restored, and, on the whole, the spirit of the army appears to be very high, particularly since its recent successes. The soldiers no longer have the beaten dog-like look which distinguished them under the Tsar, but carry themselves like free men, and, curiously, like Americans. They are popular with the people.

The testimony was universal that recruiting for the army is easiest in the districts which, having once lived under the Soviet, were overrun by anti-Soviet forces and then re-occupied by the Red Army.

Trotsky is enormously proud of the army he has created, but it is noteworthy that even he is ready to disband the army at once if peace can be obtained, in order that all the brains and energy it contains may be turned to restoring the normal life of the country.

LENIN'S PRESTIGE.

The hold which Lenin has gained on

the imagination of the Russian people makes his position almost that of a dictator. There is already a Lenin legend. He is regarded as almost a prophet. His picture, usually accompanied by that of Karl Marx, hangs everywhere. In Russia one never hears Lenin and Trotsky spoken of in the same breath, as is usual in the Western world. Lenin is regarded as in a class by himself. Trotsky is but one of the lower order of mortals.

Face to face Lenin is a very striking man—straightforward and direct, but also genial and with a large humour and serenity.

CONCESSIONS.

The Soviet Government recognises very clearly the undesirability of granting concessions to foreigners, and is ready to do so only because of necessity. The members of the Government realise that the lifting of the blockade will be illusory unless the Soviet Government is able to establish credits in foreign countries, particularly the United States and England, so that goods may be bought in those countries. For Russia to-day is in a position to export only a little gold, a little platinum, a little hemp, flax, and wood. These exports will be utterly inadequate to pay for the vast quantity of imports which Russia needs. Russia must, therefore, obtain credit at any price. The members of the Soviet Government realise fully that as a preliminary step to the obtaining of credit the payment of foreign debts must be resumed, and, therefore, are ready to pay such debts. But even though these debts are paid, the members of the Soviet Government believe that they will not be able to borrow money in foreign countries on any mere promise to pay. They believe, therefore, that they will have to grant concessions in Russia to foreigners in order to obtain immediate credit. They desire to avoid this expedient if in any way it shall be possible, but if absolutely necessary they are ready to adopt it in order to begin the restoration of the normal life of the country.



DO THE DEAD RETURN ?

BY HENRY STEAD.

An odd incident that occurred on Wednesday night was related by Mr. Howell. An old clock that had belonged to his father, and which had not gone for years, at exactly a quarter to 9 o'clock suddenly gave out strange sounds. A friend who was spending the evening at the home, and who was familiar with the Morse code, was much startled, for he said that the sounds would exactly represent the S.O.S. signal on a Morse instrument. They were repeated three times. After this the clock was silent, and nothing that they could do would make the mechanism repeat the sounds.—*Argus*, December 16, 1919.

This incident happened the day after Captain Howell and his mechanic, Mr. Frazer, were lost with their aeroplane in the Mediterranean, and six days before the news of the disaster reached Australia. Nothing that appeared in the papers of December 16th gave rise to greater discussion and comment than this report of the S.O.S. signal coming from the old-fashioned wooden clock, which had not been going for years, and the pendulum of which had been lost. Was there anything in it, or was it merely an extraordinary hallucination on the part of Mr. Howell, sen., and his friend? That question undoubtedly agitated many minds, and the incident has caused many to wonder whether, after all, there may not be something in the claims made by spiritualists.

My father was all his life deeply interested in everything appertaining to the occult, and in his later years declared that he would be remembered not for the work he did in connection with the navy, not for his achievements on behalf of the womanhood of Great Britain, but for his researches into psychic phenomena. It is not surprising, therefore, that I have received numerous enquiries as to whether I also was interested in spiritualism, and many requests for information on the subject. I have to reply that I am not deeply interested, but that far too much has come under my notice to permit of my being a skeptic. To me it seems absurd that when our bodies die it should be the end of all things. Does all this striving to

progress, to better human conditions, go for nothing? Is the experience we get in this world utterly wasted? Surely not! There must be some existence for us after the fleshy envelope dies.

There are numerous different religions and numberless sects within them, but all believe in a continued existence. Practically all look for some delightful future for the good, and some horrid existence for the bad. Yet, although all Christian sects believe in life after death, any attempt to get into communication with those who have passed over is strongly opposed. To me, at any rate, the belief that when a man dies he goes forthwith either to Heaven or to Hell is utterly repugnant. Why should a good Mahomedan go to Hell and a truly-saved Methodist go to Heaven, the former being perhaps a far more noble man than the latter? The downright Methodists would settle the matter once for all on earth and before a man dies. The Roman Catholics, at any rate, give him a chance to work his way through purgatory to eternal bliss, but the spiritualist believes that not only can the disembodied spirit go on improving his position, but can also to some extent assist those left behind, especially in matters tending to ennoble their lives.

Most people will, I think, agree with the late John Hay, American Secretary of State, who, referring to angels or spirits in his poem, "Little Breeches," tells how the child was mysteriously saved from a runaway team.

How did he get thar? Angels.

He could never have walked in that storm. They jest scooped down and toted him

To where it was safe and warm.

And I think that saving a little child,

And fotchling him to his own,

Is a derned sight better business

Than loafing around the Throne.

It seems far more reasonable to suppose that those who have passed over should continue to interest themselves in earthly affairs rather than "loaf around the Throne" in Heaven, or frizzle in Hell. It is not a far step, once you admit continued existence, to come

to the belief that those who have passed over are more likely to be engaged in something worth while rather than in loafing. The question then to be decided is whether it is right or wrong to attempt to get into communication with them. That surely is a matter which should be left to those on the other side. If one earnestly desires to converse with the spirits of the departed, and those spirits, with a far greater knowledge than our own, are willing to converse, why should such conversation be banned? That very roughly and crudely is the position I have taken up, and I have no doubt thousands of other thinking folk look at the matter in much the same way.

A fine definition of spiritualism is that given by the veteran scientist, Dr. Peebles, of Los Angeles. He says:—

Spiritualism is a science, a truth, a religion, a philosophy, and is the foundation of all the world's great religions. It is the gospel of demonstration, the gospel of brotherhood, the gospel of diversity in unity, and the mighty motive power for the world's final redemption. *Spiritualists acknowledge the living Christ*; they feel the influx of the Holy Spirit; they converse with angels; they cultivate the religious emotions, and they open their seances, many of them, with prayer. Spiritualism, with its signs, wonders, visions and healing gifts, was the religion of the apostles, of the post-apostolic fathers, and of the primitive Christians up to the reign of Constantine, the murderous Roman Emperor. The corner stone, the foundation pillar of spiritualism, is spirit, and God is Spirit, essential and immutable. The philological scale runs thus:—*Spirit—Spiritual—Spiritualism*. Spiritualists, being believers in the Christ, have the New Testament promised gifts—the gift of converse with the so-called dead, the gift of healing, the gift of tongues, the gift of clairvoyantly discerning the spirits, and other gifts spoken of in the ancient Scriptures—and when the genuine spiritualism is generally recognised and becomes, as it will, the universal religion, it will no longer be said, "Mine, mine," but "Ours, yours."

Very many people confuse spiritualism with spiritism—some of them it must be confessed with intention to deceive—but the two are, of course, vastly different. Mr. Britton Harvey, author of *Science and the Soul*, thus explains the difference:—

Spiritism is more or less rife in various forms all over the world—from the untutored savage of the South Sea Islands to the highly developed man of civilised lands. It has to do with black magic, fortune-telling, the reading of cards, seeking information from invisible entities of a very low order concern-

ing the winners of prospective horse races in communion with unseen intelligences from purely mercenary motives, the asking of all sorts of silly questions about future husbands, the locating of a rich mine, and the likelihood of inheriting a fortune from some wealthy relative. It knows nothing about the philosophy of life and death, of religious teaching of any kind, of ethical standards, of spiritual aspiration, or of faith and prayer. It is, in short, sheer necromancy—the necromancy forbidden in the Old Testament—and every true spiritualist denounces this humbug as vehemently as he denounces the hypocrites associated with the Christian Church! The two are just about on a par.

Spiritualism, however, is a very different thing. It knows nothing of "running after mediums" with puerile questions about marrying one's affinity, seeking advice concerning mundane speculations, or trying to ascertain the name of the winner of the next Melbourne Cup! These things are left to the spiritists! Spiritualism is a science, a religion, and a philosophy rolled into one.

The trouble is that so many people have sought to win material advantage out of a connection which ought to have nothing sordid about it.

As my father's assistant, I saw too much of what may be termed the "seamy" side of psychical matters, found that many of those who pretended to be able to establish a link between the seen and the unseen were only concerned to make gain. These are the people who bring discredit on spiritualism, but they could not exist were it not for the fact that in the majority of cases those who employ them seek gain also, try, to put it vulgarly, to get tips from the beyond.

I used to remonstrate concerning the vulgar, ill-educated and often tipsy mediums who used to haunt our office at times, and urge that no decent spirit would use them in communicating with this world. To this my father replied that he admitted the type of medium was bad, and that he would much prefer not to use them, but that certain people had a psychic gift, and were able to establish a communication ordinary folks could not make. Once the connection had been established, the personality of the medium mattered not at all, "and," he went on, "I never quarrel with the telephone because the operator happens to be someone of doubtful character whom personally I do not care for." That seems to me a good argument, and in the same way one might have to avail oneself of the services of an interpreter one detested, merely be-

cause no one else was able to converse in the language of the man with whom one desired to speak.

Those who establish this connection, who, when under control, do amazing things, are constantly being found out practising fraud, thus bringing discredit not only on themselves but on all those who declare themselves able to link up with the other side. Yet there can be no doubt whatever that mediums detected in fraud have on some occasions produced absolutely genuine phenomena. I have one case particularly in mind. A well-known "spirit" photographer in London secured some photographs of sitters behind whom appeared the likeness of long dead relatives, whose likenesses the photographer himself could not possibly have ever seen. Yet this man, at a test sitting, reproduced results which, though deemed remarkable by the expert photographer we had taken with us, were later proved by him to have been got by fraud. The explanation made was that as he—the spirit photographer man—was being paid to photograph spirits he determined to make sure that they should appear on the plates. Such an exhibition disgusts the ordinary man, and delights the skeptic, yet the fact remains that the same man who was convicted of fraud in this case did obtain genuine results sometimes.

The position seems to be much like that of the famous Zancigs. These two Danes, cousins brought up together and finally married, claimed to be able to transfer their thoughts the one to the other without sign or speech. Night after night they gave exhibitions of their power in one of the largest London music halls. Theirs was one of the star turns, but ultimately an enterprising newspaper man detected a secret code and their thought transference claim was apparently exploded. Yet, whilst in the music hall they perhaps resorted to a trick, they did undoubtedly possess the faculty of transferring their thoughts. My father, being naturally interested, induced them to come to his house in Westminster, and give some demonstrations. Amongst other tests he asked Mrs. Zancig to go to his study—four flights upstairs—accompanied, of course. In the dining room, on the ground floor, he produced a £5 note, which had been thrust

into his hand in the street when he went to address the huge demonstration in his honour after his release from Holloway during the Maiden Tribute campaign. He always carried this note in his purse, but did not himself know the number. He handed it to Mr. Zancig, and asked him to get Mrs. Zancig to write the number down upstairs. This he did, and she wrote it correctly.

There is, of course, a quite reasonable explanation. They had the power, but it required great concentration to exercise it, and had they used it constantly night after night both would have broken down utterly. Only in cases not covered by their code did they make use of it in the music hall. But to assert that they did not have the power of thought transference because they were found out making use of a code was obviously wrong. They were using their gift to make a living, and knew that if they relied entirely on it they would break down, and be unable to continue earning the rich fees they were commanding. In the same way there is undoubtedly an immense amount of fraud practised in connection with the production of psychic phenomena, but it does not, therefore, by any means follow that there is nothing in spiritualism.

Personally, I am far more interested in automatic writing than in any other form of occultism, as no medium, anxious to earn his or her fee, need intervene. I have never tried to write automatically, but my father did so constantly. His most interesting experiments were with living people. His hand would write what purported to be messages from someone in sympathy with him, and later he would check these by direct communications. He had some astonishingly good results, but also got utterly inaccurate messages. "Ah, I believe in telepathy," say many, "but thought transference between living people is a very different thing to communication of thought between spirits and men." It is, however, quite as difficult to explain one as the other.

We take as commonplace many things our great grandfathers would have regarded as witchcraft. The telegraph, the telephone were undreamed of a century ago. A man possessed of a wireless plant would probably have been burned

at the stake in the days of our great-grandfathers. It is quite possible that, before very long, we may be able to transfer our thoughts to others at will. I well remember my grandfather's comments on the aeroplane. He was at the time 95 years old, and still hale and hearty. I was showing him the illustrations of some aeroplane flights made by the Wright brothers in France. He simply laughed, and said the pictures were fakes. "It is astonishing how they can get up these things to look as if they were real," he said. "Fancy how ridiculous trying to make believe a man can fly like a bird!" Yet, as a boy, he had fled panic-stricken when the first steamboat went down the Tyne and saw the first railway train run into Newcastle. In his youth everyone walked or took the coach—usually walked. That they could ever fly was to him utterly ridiculous. Plenty of people are just as skeptical of all psychic phenomena as he was of aeroplanes, and scout the evidence of men like Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, Dr. Wallace, and Sir Conan Doyle just as he scouted the evidence of what he called "faked" photographs.

It is largely due to the writings and lectures of Sir Conan Doyle that interest in spiritualism has recently so enormously developed. He is, however, by no means the greatest of those who have declared themselves convinced believers in the possibility of communication being established between man and spirits, but, thanks to his "Sherlock Holmes," he is the most popularly known and his declarations on the subject happen to come at a time when hundreds of thousands of people, having lost dear ones at the war, are desperately anxious to have some communication from them.

Those who are at present attacking him most vigorously do so because they assert that to try and communicate with spirits is expressly forbidden, is therefore, against the Divine wish, and utterly wicked. Sir Conan thus touches on this opposition:—

It must be remembered that this cry of illicit knowledge, backed by more or less appropriate texts, has been used against every advance of human knowledge. It was used against the new astronomy, and Galileo had actually to recant. It was used against Galvani and electricity. It was used against

Darwin, who would certainly have been burned had he lived a few centuries before. It was even used against Simpson's use of chloroform in child-birth, on the ground that the Bible declared, "In pain shall you bring them forth." Surely a plea which has been made so often and so often abandoned, cannot be regarded very seriously.

There are some theologians who are not only opposed to such a cult, but who go the length of saying that the phenomena and messages come from fiends who personate our dead, or pretend to be Heavenly teachers. It is difficult to think that those who hold this view have ever had any personal experience of the consoling and uplifting effect of such communications upon the recipient. Ruskin has left it on record that his conviction of a future life came from spiritualism, and there are many who can declare that they were turned from materialism to a belief in the future life, with all that that implies by the study of this subject. If this be the devil's work one can only say that the devil seems to be a very bungling workman, and to get results very far from what he might be expected to desire.

As the main attack against spiritualism is being made by religious leaders, it is worth while quoting what Sir Conan Doyle has to say on spiritualism and Christianity. He deals with the matter in his latest book, *The New Revelation*. In it we read:—

"It has been asserted by men for whose opinion I have a deep regard—notably by Sir William Barratt—that psychical research is quite distinct from religion. Certainly it is so, in the sense that a man might be a very good psychical researcher but a very bad man. But the results of psychical research, the deductions which we may draw, and the lessons we may learn, teach us of the continued life of the soul, of the nature of that life, and of how it is influenced by our conduct here. If this is distinct from religion, I must confess that I do not understand the distinction. To me it is religion—the very essence of it. But that does not mean that it will necessarily crystallise into a new religion. Personally I trust that it will not do so. Surely we are disunited enough already. Rather would I see it the great unifying force, the one provable thing connected with every religion. Christian or non-Christian, forming the common solid basis upon which each raises, if it must needs raise, that separate system which appeals to the varied types of mind. The Southern races will always demand what is less austere than the North, the West

will always be more critical than the East. One cannot shape all to a level conformity. But if the broad premises which are guaranteed by this teaching from beyond are accepted, then the human race has made a great stride towards religious peace and unity. The question which faces us, then, is how will this influence bear upon the older organised religions and philosophies which have influenced the actions of men.

"The answer is, that to only one of these religions or philosophies is this new revelation absolutely fatal. That is to materialism. I do not say this in any spirit of hostility to materialists, who, so far as they are an organised body, are, I think, as earnest and moral as any other class. But the fact is manifest that if spirit can live without matter, then the foundation of materialism is gone, and the whole scheme of thought crashes to the ground.

"As to other creeds, it must be admitted that an acceptance of the teaching brought to us from beyond would deeply modify conventional Christianity. But these modifications would be rather in the direction of explanation and development than of contradiction. It would set right grave misunderstandings which have always offended the reason of every thoughtful man, but it would also confirm and make absolutely certain the fact of life after death, the base of all religion. It would confirm the unhappy results of sin, though it would show that those results are never absolutely permanent. It would confirm the existence of higher beings, whom we have called angels, and of an ever-ascending hierarchy above us, in which the Christ spirit finds its place, culminating in heights of the infinite with which we associate the idea of all-power or of God. It would confirm the idea of Heaven and of a temporary penal state which corresponds to purgatory rather than to Hell. Thus this new revelation, on some of the most vital points, is *not* destructive of the old beliefs, and it should be hailed by really earnest men of all creeds as a most powerful ally rather than a dangerous devil-begotten enemy.

"On the other hand, let us turn to the points in which Christianity must be modified by this new revelation.

"First of all I would say this, which must be obvious to many, however much they deplore it. Christianity must change or must perish. That is the law of life—that things must adapt themselves or perish. Christianity has deferred the change very long, she has deferred it until her churches are half empty, until women are her chief supporters, and until both the learned part of the community on one side, and the poorest class on the other, both in town and country, are largely alienated from her. Let us try and trace the reason for this. It is apparent in all sects, and comes, therefore, from some deep common cause.

"People are alienated because they frankly do not believe the facts as presented to them to be true. Their reason and their sense of justice are equally offended. One can see no justice in a vicarious sacrifice, nor in the God Who could be placated by such means. Above all, many cannot understand such expressions as the "redemption from sin," "cleansed by the blood of the Lamb," and so forth. So long as there was any question of the fall of man there was at least some sort of explanation of such phrases; but when it became certain that man had never fallen—when with ever fuller knowledge we could trace our ancestral course down through the cave-man and the drift-man, back to that shadowy and far-off time when the man-like ape slowly evolved into the ape-like man—looking back on all this vast succession of life, we knew that it had always been rising from step to step. Never was there any evidence of a fall. But if there were no fall, then what became of the atonement, of the redemption, of original sin, of a large part of Christian mystical philosophy? Even if it were as reasonable in itself as it is actually unreasonable, it would still be quite divorced from the facts.

"Again, too much seemed to be made of Christ's death. It is no uncommon thing to die for an idea. Every religion has equally had its martyrs. Men die continually for their convictions. Therefore the death of Christ, beautiful as it is in the Gospel narrative, has seemed to assume an undue importance, as though it were an isolated phenomenon for a man to die in pursuit of a reform. In

my opinion, far too much stress has been laid upon Christ's death, and far too little upon His life. That was where the true grandeur and the true lesson lay. It was a life which even in those limited records shows us no trait which is not beautiful—a life full of easy tolerance for others, of kindly charity, of broad-minded moderation, of gentle courage, always progressive and open to new ideas, and yet never bitter to those ideas which he was really supplanting: Never had anyone such a robust common sense, or such a sympathy for weakness. It was this most wonderful and uncommon life, and not His death, which is the true centre of the Christian religion.

"Now, let us look at the light which we get from the spirit guides upon this question of Christianity. Opinion is not absolutely uniform yonder, any more than it is here; but reading a number of messages upon this subject they amount to this. There are many higher spirits with our departed. They vary in degree. Call them 'angels,' and you are in touch with old religious thought. High above all these is the greatest spirit of whom they have cognizance—not God, since God is so infinite that He is not within their ken—but one who is nearer God and to that extent represents God. This is the Christ Spirit. His special care is the earth. He came down upon it at a time of great earthly depravity—a time when the world was almost as wicked as it is now, in order to give the people the lesson of an ideal life. Then He returned to His own high station, having left an example which is still occasionally followed. That is the story of Christ as spirits have described it. There is nothing here of atonement or redemption. But here is a perfectly feasible and reasonable scheme, which I, for one, could readily believe.

"If such a view of Christianity were generally accepted, and if it were enforced by assurance and demonstration from the *New Revelation* which is coming to us from the other side, then we should have a creed which might unite the churches, which might be reconciled to science, which might defy all attacks, and which might carry the Christian faith on for an indefinite period. Reason and faith would at last be reconciled, a nightmare would be lifted from our minds, and spiritual peace would prevail."

According to Sir Conan Doyle, therefore, spiritualism is in no way antagonistic to Christianity, instead it would bring about a great Christian revival.

The slaughter of millions of men in the prime of life on the battlefields of Europe has awakened a desire the world over to communicate with the unseen if possible, and countless fathers and mothers, and wives and sisters are asking, "Do the Dead Return?" On the whole, though, this is a selfish desire. It is to heal our own heartache that we wish to speak with our loved ones. We want to be comforted, we do not want to comfort them. The possibility of establishing such communication attracts people to spiritualism, just as the possibility of being cured of physical ills attracts people to Christian Science. But whilst the compelling attraction of spiritualism may be the prospect it offers of communication with the dead, the abiding interest is what it can tell us about what is likely to happen to us when our turn comes to cross the narrow stream.

It is astonishing how similar are the accounts which have been obtained in different countries at different times, and quite independently by mediums and automatic writers as to what happens when we die. Few people still imagine that the spirits of all who die suddenly acquire infinite wisdom. The spirits on the other side must vary in intelligence and knowledge much as do men and women on this. That would entirely account for the differences in the accounts received of what the unseen is like. Ask half a hundred people to write an account of life in Australia, and you would have fifty varying versions of the same thing. The principal facts might be similarly chronicled, but the details would differ immensely. There is general agreement in the accounts purporting to come from beyond about the life there, but they, too, differ in details.

In view of the immense interest now being taken in spiritualism and psychic matters generally, I hope to return to the subject at an early opportunity, and will touch specially on what spiritualists have to say about the life beyond the grave. Meanwhile I should be glad to know what my readers think about the whole question.

DAVID LOW IN LONDON.

David Low, Australia's finest cartoonist, is making a great stir in London. He reached the metropolis early in October, and a few days later his first

cartoons were appearing in *The Star* and *The Daily News*. He is specialising on Mr. Lloyd George just as he did on Mr. Hughes, and most of his cartoons deal



THE DOPE DENTIST.
JOHN (waking up again): "The gas was great, but how about the dentistry?"



THE WHAT-IS-IT: "All done by kindness."

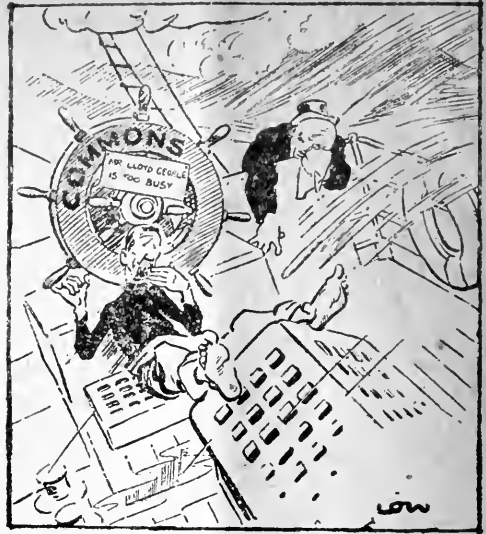


THE GREAT WASTEMINSTER JAZZ.



OVERSTRAINED HUMP.

THE CAMEL: "By the way, has either of you gentlemen heard that old saying about a Camel's Back and a Last Straw?"



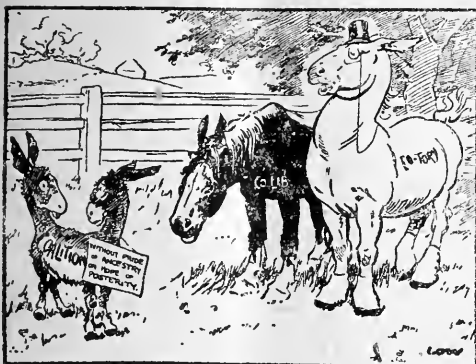
THE MISSING PILOT.

JOHN BULL: "Weugh! Does the Allens Bill say anything about Welsh pilots who sublet their jobs?"



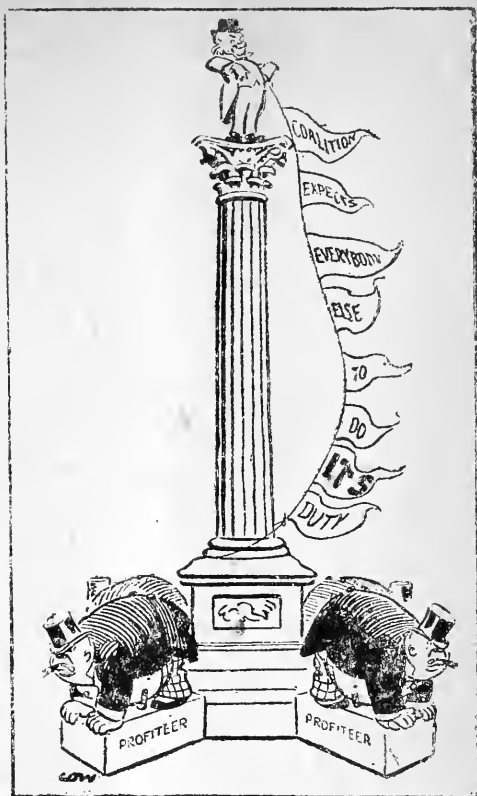
"PUMP HARDER, JOHN!"

satirically with the British Prime Minister. He has already introduced some special types which have caught the popular imagination. For instance, he always represents the Coalition Government as a two-headed donkey, and readers of *The Bulletin* will find many of those happy touches which gave his work in Australia that distinction and personality which made it great. The reproductions herewith give some idea of the splendid work David Low is doing in England. All the originals appeared in *The Star*.



THE WHAT-IS-IT.

COALITION LIBERAL: "Yours, I think."
COALITION TORY: "Yours, I believe."
BOTH: "Ours, I'm afraid."



THE SIGNAL.

BANISHING HATRED.

Anatole France, the famous French novelist, delivered the opening address before the Congress of the Trade Unions of French Elementary School Teachers, held at Tours, and the keynote of his speech was sounded in this sentence: "The war has sufficiently demonstrated that the popular education of to-morrow must be altogether different from that of former days." It was, M. France said, with mingled feelings of anxiety and hope that he addressed the teachers, for the future was in their hands, and in great measure it would be made by their intentions and their pains.

What a task was theirs at this moment, when the old social systems were crumbling under the weight of errors, and victors and vanquished, exchanging looks of hatred, were falling into a common abyss of misery. In the social and moral dis-

order, produced by the war and perpetuated by the peace which had followed it, they had everything to make and to remake. They must create a new humanity, awaken new intelligence, if they did not wish Europe to fall into imbecility and barbarism.

In the first place, they must banish from the school everything that could make children like war and its crimes, and that alone would demand long and constant effort, unless indeed all the panoplies were, in the near future, swept away by the blast of universal revolution.

In the French bourgeoisie great and small, and even in the proletariat, the destructive instincts with which the Germans had been justly reproached were sedulously cultivated. Only a few days before M. de la Fouchardiere had asked

at a bookseller's for books suitable for a little girl, and had been offered nothing but accounts and pictures of slaughter, massacres, and exterminations. Next mid-Lent they would see in Paris, in the Champs Elysees and on the boulevards, thousands and thousands of little boys dressed by their inept mothers as Generals and Field-Mmarshals. Motion pictures would show children the beauties of war and thus prepare them for the military career, and so long as there were soldiers there would be wars. The diplomatists of the Allies had allowed Germany still to have soldiers in order to be able to keep them themselves. Children were going to be brought up to be soldiers from the cradle.

It was for the teachers to break with these dangerous practices. They must make the children love peace and the works of peace. They must teach them to hate war. They must banish from their teaching everything that excited hatred of the foreigner, even of our enemies of yesterday. Not that one ought to be indulgent to crime and absolve all the guilty, but because every people, no matter what, at any time whatever, included more victims than criminals, because innocent generations must not be punished for the guilty, and, above all, because all the peoples had much to forgive one another.

M. France went on to recommend his hearers to read a recent book by Michel Corday, *Les Mains Propres* (*Clean Hands*), and quoted from it the sentence, "I hate him who debases man to the level of the beast by inciting him to attack anybody that does not resemble him." "From the bottom of my heart," said M. France, "I invoke the disappearance of that kind of person from the face of the earth. I hate nothing except hatred."

The most necessary and most simple task of the teacher, he continued, was to make hatred hated. The state to which a devastating war had reduced France and the world imposed upon the teachers duties of exceptional complexity and difficulty. Without hope of obtaining help or support, or even consent, they

had to change elementary education from top to bottom in order to train workers.

There was no room in the society of to-day for any but workers; the others would be swept away by the hurricane. And they must train intelligent workers instructed in the crafts that they practised, knowing what were their duties to the national community and to the human community.

"Burn," said M. France, "burn all the books that teach hatred! Extol labour and love. Train for us men capable of trampling under foot the vain splendours of barbaric glory and of resisting the sanguinary ambitions of the nationalisms and imperialisms that have annihilated their fathers. No more industrial rivalries! No more wars! Only labour and peace! Whether we like it or not, the time has come when we must either become citizens of the world or see the whole of civilisation perish."

M. France suggested that there should be attached to the International of the workers a delegation of the teachers of all nations to formulate in common a universal system of instruction and consider the means to be taken to implant in young minds the ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of the peoples.

He concluded thus: "Reason, wisdom, intelligence, forces of the mind and heart, you that have always been piously invoked, come to me, aid me, strengthen my feeble voice, carry it, if that be possible, to all the peoples of the world, and diffuse it everywhere where men of goodwill are found, to listen to the beneficent truth; A new order of things is born! The powers of evil are dying, poisoned by their crime. The covetous and the cruel, the devourers of the peoples, are perishing of a surfeit of blood. Sorely smitten by the fault of their blind or villainous masters, mutilated, decimated, the proletariats yet stand erect. They are going to unite in order to form but a single universal proletariat, and we shall see the fulfilment of the great Socialist prophecy—"the union of the workers will bring peace to the world."

Our Asiatic Neighbours.

VII.—WHITE AUSTRALIA AS A SOCIAL IDEAL.

By JOHN A. BRAILSFORD.

The phrase, "White Australia," covers two distinct ideals. On the one hand is the sentiment that glorifies race-prejudice into a religion. On the other we have the social ideal of a White Australia—of a people that, having made some progress along the white way of freedom, hopes that its further progress will not be impeded by the introduction of an alien servile caste. We who uphold the latter ideal want honest toil to be honourable, responsible, healthful, hopeful; we believe that the importation of unlimited numbers of underpaid, servile coloured workers would tend to bring bodily toil into contempt and the toilers to hopeless degradation. We want those among us who have opportunity and power to feel more and more their responsibility to their fellow-men and women, and to the rising generation. Introduce a supply of servile labour, and you destroy the sense of responsibility; power becomes the means of accumulating more and more power, and of reducing the toilers—alien and Australian alike—to lower and lower degradation. And we see the vision of children and children's children sacrificed thus—the rich corrupted with luxury and irresponsible mastery, the poor robbed of all hope. We revolt against that vision; we demand a White Australia.

It is well, however, to keep the two ideals distinct. Race-prejudice is not a noble sentiment. Whilst we must make due allowance for its action, we are liable, if we abandon ourselves to prejudice, to content ourselves with the ideal of an Australia white in skin only. Prejudice blinds us to the nobler ideal. It tends to lead us counter to the true White Australia.

In the series of articles that have appeared in STEAD'S in the past few months I have tried to show that the present trend toward a mingled policy of exclusion and exploitation of the Asiatics is bringing us to hopeless confusion. It is not pleasant to those of us who feel

keenly on the matter to contemplate the possibility that we may have been, all unconsciously, helping to paint Australia black. Unfortunately, I am convinced that that is the tendency of the present policies. I shall try to size up briefly the situation from this point of view:—

We condemn exploitation. For fear lest some men should become mere instruments of gain for other men, we forbid the importation of low-waged Asiatics. Yet we permit, and even encourage, the exploitation of these same Asiatics under far worse conditions in their own lands, and in the countries to which they are taken under indenture contracts. And we not only permit the profits of that exploitation to be brought home to enrich our investing classes by hundreds of millions of pounds per annum; we demand that it shall be so; as a people, we are willing to fight for it. It is as if we shut out the ocean with a dyke, but left our land open to flooding from tidal creeks. The absurdity of the contradiction would be more apparent if East and West were smaller communities and closer together. Imagine two adjoining villages, with wages and general prices in the East village only a fourth of what they are in the West village. No Eastern workers are permitted to be employed in the West village, for fear of undercutting; but the lords of the West are not hindered in drawing enormous wealth every month from the profits of employing these Easterners in their own village, and selling their products to the world at large. If we lived closer to one another, we should see clearly that this process must needs widen the gulf between rich and poor, between the powerful and the powerless, in our West village, as it is actually doing. We should see then that this class division is tending more and more to the character of a hard caste cleavage of the very kind that we set out to avoid.

But in our big complicated world the process is hidden, and therefore all the

more dangerous. Its workings in the Australasian colonies are especially obscure for the reason that our communities are in some measure themselves exploiters of the East, and in some measure the victims of Old World exploitation. (If there comes a slump in land values—as economists freely predict—we shall soon see in what a grip Australia is held by overseas financiers.) But, however obscure, the process goes on. It is not the only cause of class divisions; but it is one of the most potent. Investing people use their power to exploit Asiatics as a means of bringing unruly workers to submission; yet they hardly know that they are making use of such a weapon. They have a saying that the workers' ill-behaviour is "driving capital abroad." What does it mean? It means that there are other lands in which the workers are more docile, content with lower wages and poorer conditions, content to have no say in management. I am not contending that there are no faults on the workers' side. What I wish to make clear is that, whether the workers are right or wrong, they are powerless against this weapon. They are bound in the long run to submit to the investors' terms or to see capital "driven abroad"—capital which might have been invested in home industries.

Here is the vicious cycle: Class strife inclines investors to send more capital abroad. Hence come further accumulations of investment capital, without corresponding advantage to the home workers; hence wider division of classes; more strife; and round again in the same circle.

How are decent homely folk to deal with a problem of this kind? They have their neighbourly interests, their trade comradeship, their housekeeping problems, with butter at 1/9 and kerosene at 10/- a tin. Suppose they do make time to study racial problems. Suppose they decide that investors should be prevented from using this weapon of foreign investment to keep the home workers in subjection, how can they make their will effective? The problem is too puzzling, is it not? Shall we not let it be?

No, we cannot ignore our Asiatic problem. It forces itself upon us. We have committed ourselves to exclusionism. Yet we are constantly faced with diffi-

culties, even apart from the central difficulty—impossibility rather—of reconciling exclusion with exploitation. We have the difficulty of the Northern Territory: On the one hand we feel it unnatural to play dog-in-the-manger in this vast waste that we have utterly failed to develop; yet we feel just as surely that it would be impossible to draw a line across Australia like the Mason-and-Dixon line that used to divide the white area from the slave area in America. Then we have the difficulty arising from the competition of Asiatics on the sea. We can legislate to exclude Asiatics from our coastal trade, unless they are employed under conditions equal to those we demand for our own seafarers. But even this is not easy. Will the Navigation Act, so long promised and so long delayed, bring satisfaction? It is very doubtful whether the clauses designed to put an end to unfair conditions on ship-board in the coastal service will be effective. Even if they are, the whole problem of overseas shipping remains untouched. Asiatic crews, receiving low wages and living in such conditions as other Governments see fit to permit, are free as ever to compete for the world's trade. They have cheaply built ships, too. How can our Western shipping companies possibly compete, if they have to pay wages according to Western standards, and to give the wholesome conditions that Western Governments now demand for their crews? Our present policy simply leads us into a blind alley.

Then our exclusionists are finding that it is futile to keep out Asiatic workers while admitting cheap goods made in Asia. I have tried to show that the undercutting is more severe when the goods are brought in than when the Asiatics compete with us in our own lands. The natural consequence is a demand for higher and higher "protective" tariffs, and in some cases those who have suffered from the competition have asked for the absolute prohibition of importation from Asia. Tariffs may protect the home-made goods in the home markets. But they simply add to the disadvantage of Western-made goods in competing with the products of the East for the world's markets. For the unquestionable effect of import tariffs, apart from taking wealth from one sec-

tion of the community to give it to another, is to raise price-standards all round in the protected country, and so to increase the cost of production. Perhaps the desired protection could be obtained without the ill-effect by the payment of bounties to assist home production: but hitherto our politicians have not had the courage to suggest such a course, which would enable the people to see how their money was being taken from them. It is so much easier to take their wealth by the obscure action of Customs tariffs.

Is there no solution for the problem of Asiatic competition in the world's shipping and the world's commerce? It seems to me that none can be hoped for unless a stable universal currency can be established and labour conditions be settled by international and inter-racial agreement. We have a long way to go to reach that point. As it is, our very policies of exclusion and "protection," however necessary they may be under present conditions, simply help to maintain the divergence of price standards, and so to keep Western industries at a serious disadvantage.

In this manner exclusionism defeats its own purpose, in so far as that purpose is to give white workers fuller opportunities in life and to help those employers who aim to give "white" conditions to their workers. By keeping up price standards in the West, and even raising them, it makes it more and more difficult for such workers and such employers to compete in the world's commerce and transportation. And at the same time it gives the exploiter—the investor who cares not a rap under what conditions his profits are made—increasing opportunities to draw large tribute from the employment of low-waged toilers in the East and the tropics.

In my first chapters I pointed out how the eagerness of Western investors to draw this tribute from the East brought them into conflict with Japanese interests. This is the most likely occasion of war with Japan—a war into which our people would be led blindfold, with no real interest of theirs at stake. Later I suggested that the effects produced upon our social life and our racial vitality by this practice of drawing tribute from another people were our most serious peril.

The devotee of a White Australia—an Australia white in life, not merely in skin—has reason to be anxious. He sees the workers of Australia and of other Western lands despairing of obtaining social reform without a complete overthrow of the system called capitalism. If he has read history, he sees little to hope for from a revolution unaccompanied by evolution of the social spirit among us. From such overturnings come reactions, and new tyrannies. He sees the danger that our people may despair of the long and hopeless struggle against complex forces, whose rebound seems only to throw them farther back. Will they not then listen to the tempter—the economist who argues thus: "If the Asiatic can produce things cheaper than you, it is better he should do so. Let him do your dirty work. Why should a white man sweat when black and yellow men are willing to sweat for him? Let them be your slaves! Only see to it that you retain the mastery!"

It is a tempting argument. Those who have the opportunity of living by the sweat of other men's brows rarely reflect that that way lies decay and ruin. Shall we see the ideal of White Australia brought to nought by those who think they are its most ardent devotees? The present drift is likely to bring us even to this. At all events there is no hope in the combination of prejudiced exclusionism and domineering exploitation.

From the social and industrial point of view, from which I have presented this study, it is seen that the outlook is not bright. Meantime, we are drifting toward war. It would not be far from the truth to say that we are already at war; for the carnage of battle is not the only sacrifice to Moloch; the sacrifices begin as soon as suspicion begins to minister at our worship.

Since I began writing on this subject a few years ago, I have found many who agree with me that a change is needed in our attitude toward the Asiatic peoples. I have been surprised to see from what diverse classes and interests have come requests for positive suggestions for promoting better understanding between the people of Australasia and the people of China, Japan and India. In a concluding article I shall submit a few such suggestions.

COMMUNISM IN GERMANY.

Mr. Douglas Goldring spent last September wandering about Germany trying to get a true idea of the actual political situation there. He contributes his experiences to *The English Review*. He states that he did not find a single German politician who could explain the position to him or discover a single prophet whose prophecies seemed worth repeating. The "revolution" of November, 1918, was, he says, simply a collapse followed by a change of Government.

After the departure of the Imperial figure-head it is true that members of the Majority Socialist Party came into office. But if English Liberals and Labourites pin any faith to the blessed word "Socialist," they are doomed to disappointment. If Messrs. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill happened to be Prussians they would—as regards their political ideas, and, in particular, their fear of Bolshevism—be fully qualified for membership of the present "revolutionary" German Cabinet.

He found everywhere in Germany, though, a terror of communism obsessing the propertied class to an even greater extent than it does the English bourgeoisie to-day.

The German capitalists are desperate. They realise that, with two or three years of tranquillity and stable Government, they may be able to turn the corner and reach safety. But can they count on that period of "law and order"? In their efforts to secure it, it is certain that, like men fighting for their very lives, they will stick at nothing. On the whole, their point of view is easy enough to understand and to condone. They resemble the remnants of the crew of a foundered ship who have managed to save themselves by making a raft. They are within sight of land, their rescue, they think, is only a question of time; but now some of the survivors have lost their reason and persist in trying to overturn the raft and precipitate everyone into the sea. These madmen, these would-be wreckers, in the eyes of the capitalists, are the members of the Communist party.

At all costs, therefore, the communists must be suppressed, and as the capitalists and the middle classes have control of the instruments of force, the process of suppression is now proceeding throughout Germany with extreme vigour.

The word communist is rarely mentioned in conversation above a whisper. Harmless "intellectuals" are arrested in the dead of night, on the denunciation of a concierge or spiteful servant, and hurried off to gaol, where nothing more is heard of them. Workmen believed to hold communist views have a ten-

dency to disappear without leaving a trace. The gaols throughout Germany are crammed with political prisoners, and recourse has had to be made to the internment camps originally used for the prisoners of war. Painters, poets, journalists, and other intellectuals seem to have suffered particularly from this white terror.

As was to be expected, the terrorism, which has been established to crush the communists has quite the opposite effect. In Germany, says Mr. Goldring, as in *Entente* countries, the bourgeoisie has been unable to learn the simple lesson that all the bombs, rifles and machine guns in the world are impotent against an idea.

It is not my business here to argue the merits or demerits of communism as a political theory: I am concerned solely to try to get at the facts about the communists. And, after seeing and talking to several leaders of the German communist movement, and to very many of the rank and file, I must add my testimony that intellectually and morally they struck me as being men and women of the highest character, whose honesty was beyond question and whose courage was an inspiration. It seems to me about time that even our most reactionary newspapers left off describing as thieves and murderers people who are well known to be nothing of the sort. The absurd and prolonged vilification of Lenin and the Russian communists, and the policy based on it, shows to what a condition of muddle and disgrace persistent lying can reduce us. Surely, even the bitterest enemies of the communist ideal might begin now, with advantage, to face a few self-evident truths about the personal character and abilities of their opponents!

He does not think that there is much chance of a communistic *regime* being established in Germany just now. It must come eventually as a result of the economic clauses of the Peace Treaty, but meanwhile the Independent Socialist Party has a great opportunity.

The Independents are distinguished from the communists chiefly by the fact that they wear a different label and are more "respectable." This, however, is a distinction of the first importance, because whereas a communist Germany would certainly be blockaded and starved out by its capitalist neighbours, an Independent Socialist Government would have a reasonable chance of being left in peace. . . . The Independents favour the policy of compromise which has been forced upon Lenin. They see that while the full communist programme cannot be carried out yet, many of its essential points can be secured by ordinary Parliamentary action. In Haase, the Inde-

pendents have a leader of marked ability, and I believe it to be by no means unlikely that he may come into power in the near future, and that many communists will support him.

The position of the militarist parties in Germany is obscure. The "Noskitos," as the soldier recruited by Noske the Minister of Defence are called, come from brutal elements of the old army, and have shown themselves quite willing to shoot down their brothers and sisters of the working classes. Their discipline, however, is admittedly bad. There are plenty of leaders with great reputations, notably, Ludendorff, Lettow-Vorbeck and Goltz, who are personally exceedingly popular.

But although leaders could be found in plenty for a movement to restore the old regime, I was assured by people of widely divergent political views that they would never be able to scrape together an army to follow them. Many of the best officers of the old German army, particularly those belonging to the technical branches of the service, have already been recruited by the Japanese Government, which, since the Armistice, has been offering attractive contracts to German engineers, flying men, etc., willing to take service with the Japanese forces. The various anti-Bolshevist groups in Russia have also absorbed a considerable number of the unemployed professional soldiers of the officer class, who might otherwise be available for reactionary intrigues.

This is the first definite statement I have seen about the recruiting of German experts by Japanese, but it is indeed significant. The Japanese are spending great sums on aeroplanes, but, despite their greatest efforts, they have failed to develop flying men. The Germans can fly, though! In regard to the Peace

Treaty, Mr. Goldring found that the only political party which does not complain bitterly of its penal clauses is the communist party.

The communists would not have them one whit less stupid or abominable, for they rely on the greed and the short sight of the *Entente* capitalists to bring about a breakdown of the capitalist system, not only in Germany but throughout Europe. The sound basis of the communist reasoning in regard to the Treaty is clearly appreciated by the more intelligent politicians of the bourgeoisie both in Germany and in England, with the result that in both countries a propaganda campaign is being carried on to secure a modification of the more disastrous conditions. From the standpoint of those who are afraid of "Bolshevism," the worst point about the Treaty is the fact that the amount of the indemnity has been left unspecified. This, as Professor Hans Delbruck pointed out to me, makes it impossible for the German financial experts to devise any scheme for saving the situation. All their estimates and statistics are useless while they are kept in ignorance of the amount for which they will have to budget. Apart from the indemnity question, the most alarming feature of Germany's economic situation is undoubtedly the collapse of the value of the mark, which is proving a fatal handicap to the revival of industry. Unless the German industries can recover, the country cannot, obviously, attempt to pay its debts. The remedy for the low exchange, in Professor Delbruck's view, was an immediate and substantial loan from England and America.

Everyone in Germany, therefore, is deeply concerned as to what America will do, and the air is full of rumours about colossal deals effected by American capitalists. The probability of a working arrangement eventuating between American capital and German industry is of tremendous interest to the whole world.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO FRANCE?

During the war, the Censor was exceedingly annoyed with me because I reviewed an article, which had appeared in an American paper, telling of the terrible toll tuberculosis was taking in France, and of the efforts being made by the Rockefeller Foundation to combat it. We were not allowed to know that anyone was dying of consumption in France, although we were constantly told that the terrible mortality from that disease amongst the French prisoners in Germany was due to the enemy inoculating their unfortunate captives with tuberculosis germs! Probably the idea

of suppressing any reference to consumption in France itself was that the knowledge of its prevalence might have discounted this particularly idiotic piece of hate propaganda. Still, despite the Censor, the fact remains that tuberculosis is terribly prevalent in France, although, fortunately, according to the doctors of the Foundation, much can be done to combat it successfully by educating the people to be sanitary and have fresh air in their houses instead of keeping all the windows closed after the French manner.

One of the chief causes of the prevalence of this disease is the alcoholism of

the people. In this connection a strong crusade was inaugurated in France during the war, but without apparently very great success. M. Jean Finot is one of the most indefatigable leaders in the anti-drink crusade, and published details in his journal, *La Revue*. The Censor promptly suppressed all quotations from these here, though. Now, however, that the censorship is lifted, it is possible to review articles dealing with this subject which are appearing in French and English periodicals. One from the pen of Mme. Marie de Petrot is published in *The Contemporary*. The war, she declares, has developed the scourge of alcoholism in all its hideousness, but it existed already and dates back for at least fifty years.

Before this time French sobriety was renowned. During Napoleon's great campaigns, the soldier drank water; in this war, wine was served to the men as a matter of course, and what was infinitely worse, the infamous *mole*, a coarse alcohol, which did incalculable harm.

Alcoholism, she says, is the direct cause of 30 per cent. of all deaths in France. She forecasts a gloomy future unless something drastic be done.

The prosperity which the nineteenth century brought to France was a great temptation to a people so passionately fond of the good things of life as the French are. Alcohol is the great Merchant of Pleasure—or at least its semblance. Under its sway, sorrow appears less acute, happiness is intensified. An easier mode of life, the natural consequence of growing wealth, fostered year by year the national vice; to-day the canker has eaten into the nation's vitals and the ravages are so immense that, unless a great national effort is made, France is doomed to perish miserably. What will be the advantage that we have conquered the outer foe, if we succumb to the inner enemy? A nation the slave of alcoholism, is not productive of children—and if these are the offspring of alcoholic parents, they are either miserable specimens or die soon after their birth. Eighty per cent. of our juvenile criminals are the children of alcoholic parents. The problem of the birth rate is one of the most weighty in France at this moment, and has been so for some time past. The decrease in the number of births and the frightful mortality among young children threaten, in three generations, to reduce the population of forty million inhabitants to one of twenty; stamping us eventually, after six generations, as a third or fourth class nation of ten million people. With six millions of her sons dead or mutilated, the nation is bleeding from all her veins, and unless the miracle happens for which all her lovers pray, what will become of France, the hope of the world?

Quality, of course, often makes up for quantity, and the quality of the articles produced in France in the past has placed them beyond competition.

With the exception of some particular trades, such as flower-making, porcelain manufacture, carpet-weaving, etc., the high standard once reached has been lowered. Long before 1914, our manufacturers complained that the output of their *ouvriers* was inferior both in quantity and quality to that of the German workmen. The reason? It was a simple one. The latter were far less addicted to alcohol than our men. This slackness of work among the French artisans, this shortage of output spread over half a century, is by far more serious than the industrial stagnation which followed the war of 1870, and will be the natural consequence of 1914.

Those who are fighting alcoholism in France do not direct their efforts against the drinking of wine, beer, cider or perry, but against absinthe and other spirits. Mme. Perrot explains the incorrect idea about drunkenness in France by saying that people are so accustomed to meet those who are slightly "gris," that they take no notice of it; and that vice generally flaunts itself less in France than in other countries. But it is easier to get intoxicated in France than anywhere else as is shown by the following startling figures:—

It was ascertained, through a report handed to the Chamber of Deputies in 1913, that whilst for eighty inhabitants in France there is a wineshop, only one exists for 143 in Switzerland; for 170 in Italy; for 200 in Holland; for 246 in Germany; for 380 at that time in the States; for 430 in Great Britain; for 9000 in Norway and Canada. Bars and drinking-booths have increased threefold during the last seventy years in France, and, unfortunately, woman has also succumbed to the Inner Enemy. Of late years, especially during the war and the consequent greater liberty, caused by the absence of their men-folk, our women have become the prey of alcohol. And yet, at the present moment, all the hopes of the nation centre round woman. Mothers, wives, sisters, if they were not voteless, would go straight to the ballot-box and vote for a dry France, in any case an anti-alcoholic France."

Women have no votes in France, although they have it in Germany and Austria, and Russia, even, in modified manner, in England. The Chamber of Deputies has granted it them often, but the Senate will have none of it at all. This is largely due, thinks Mme. Perrot, to the fact that women in France have taken up the cause of temperance so

strongly and the private distillers are very powerful in the Senate, and fear that their enterprises would be interfered with did the women have the chance of exercising the franchise. The Government will do nothing to restrict the sale of spirits. Even during the war it did not limit its sale; it was Joffre who took the matter into his own hands at the Front. Behind the lines, says Mme. Perrot, "the country itself remained en-

slaved, crushed, sick unto death under the power of King Alcohol":—

M. Poincaré never touches spirits; the Old Tiger drinks only water; M. Herriot, the genial Mayor of Lyons, and Senator of the Rhone, all these are anti-alcoholists. They are powers each in his way; they largely represent the Government. Still alcoholism flourishes, and the Inner Enemy rules France undisturbed, much more dangerous and more powerful than Germany could ever have been. A man's worst enemies are those of his own household!

DISAPPEARANCE OF EUROPE'S ARISTOCRACY.

Writing in *New Europe*, Charles Seignobos tells of the triumph of the small landowner in Europe. The eastern part of Europe, where the soil constitutes almost the only wealth of the country, has remained under the mediæval manorial system, the land being divided up into large properties belonging to the noble families on which the great majority of the peasants were either tenants or labourers. This system held sway over an immense area in which there were eight principal landed aristocracies.

(1) In Russia, in the districts inhabited by Great Russians and in the Ukraine east of the Dnieper, the pomieschchiks, big landed proprietors whom the Tsars, in superficial imitation of Germany, dignified with the title of noble; (2) in the Baltic provinces the "Baltic Barons," a stock of nobles of German origin superimposed upon the agrarian population of Esthonians and Letts; (3) in Roumania, the indigenous stock of Boyars, who remained in possession of their estates during the Turkish domination and inter-married with the Phanariot nobles sent into the country to exploit it in the name of the Sultan; (4) in Hungary, the Magyar magnates and "gentry," who have overflowed from the Magyar districts into those inhabited by Slovak and Roumanian peasants; (5) in Austria, the aristocrats of the Court of Vienna who possess large domains in the German Alpine provinces and in the Czech lands of the Bohemian Crown; (6) in Prussia, the aristocracy of the eastern provinces (Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia), the Junkers, the "Rittergut" proprietors, who form the entourage of the King and the officers' corps; (7) in Poland, the *slachta*, the old fighting stock, which has become an aristocracy to which the greater part of the land still belongs, although the Russian Government, to weaken the national resistance, of which the nobility was the soul, forcibly transferred part of the land to the peasants; (8) in the countries bordering on Poland, the former dependencies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Lithuania, White Russia, Western Ukraine) and Galicia, the noble families descended from Polish immigrants or from the indigenous but

Polonised big landowners, who to-day form an aristocracy of Polish language and manners, superimposed upon the indigenous agrarian population.

The war proved a decisive test through which the Democratic States went safely whilst the monarchies, based on the manorial system, went under. The revolt against the system began in the least civilised country, Russia, where the peasants seized the land by force, and the Bolsheviki disorganised the military forces which alone maintained the class of large proprietors. In the Baltic Provinces the rule of the German Baltic Barons is over for good. In Austria, the crisis is more complicated.

The Austrian aristocracy, whose title does not yet appear to have been disputed in German Austria, has already been virtually abolished in the new Czech republic of Bohemia and Moravia, where a law has been passed fixing the maximum amount of land which may be held by one proprietor at 190 hectares. The large properties, which have been estimated at about a quarter of the total acreage of the country, are to be divided up among the peasants. Here the agrarian revolution is being carried out in a legal and peaceful manner, by gradual steps, and with an indemnity for expropriation. The same thing will be done with regard to the large domains of the Magyar nobles in Slovakia, where expropriation and the distribution of the meadows to the peasants has begun in an amicable manner.

In its own country, however, the Magyar aristocracy is likely to have a more violent overthrow, whilst in Transylvania a campaign of dispossession has been begun by the Roumanian peasants.

It is proceeding at the same time in the old Roumanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, on the initiative of the Government under pressure of public opinion. It began on the entry of Roumania into the war, when, in order to arouse the peasantry in the national cause, it was necessary to promise them owner-

ship of the land. This promise, which was held up by the Roumanian defeat and the coming into power of a Germanophil Government, has at last been redeemed by a law which, on similar lines to that passed by the Czech Republic, fixes a maximum of land to be held by any one proprietor and institutes a system of expropriation and indemnification; the land thus rendered available is to be distributed among the peasants whose property is insufficient for their needs.

In Poland the landlords by their championship of nationality acquired an influence over the people which they are using to-day in order to defend their large estates against all revolutionary tendencies. In no country except Prussia does the agrarian revolution meet with such determined opposition. Galicia and Posnania, where the big Polish landowners had become political leaders, remain the two great strongholds of landed aristocracy in Eastern Europe.

In order to divert the cupidity of the Polish peasants from their own large estates the Polish landlords are trying to extend their political domination over neighbouring countries, where they hope to find land for colonisation. This is the personal, economic motive which underlies the patriotic agitation for the annexation of all the provinces which were formerly dependencies of the grand duchy of Lithuania, and where the nobility have remained Polish—Lithuania, White Russia, Western Ukrainia (Podolia, Volhynia), to which one must add the Ruthene districts of Galicia.

The propaganda is being strongly carried on in Paris and in other Allied capitals. The idea of the Polish landowners is that these territories sparsely populated by half-savage races would be colonised by the rural proletariat of Poland, the threatened agrarian revolution in Poland proper would be avoided, and the landowners would retain their property.

This policy involves military operations on all the eastern frontiers in order to subdue the recalcitrant natives, and these wars cannot be waged by the new State, save with the aid or the connivance of Western Europe. Will the Allies lend themselves to this game? Will their diplomats and soldiers continue to allow

their policy to be dictated by the Polish aristocrats and emigres? The peoples of Lithuania, White Russia, and the Ukraine, which have already formed national Governments, represented by delegations, threaten to meet this Polish "colonisation" by armed force.

The big Polish estates in Ukrainia have already been liquidated by the same methods as in Russia. In Lithuania the Catholic peasants have employed milder means, but it is not at all improbable that there will yet be a general extermination of the Polish aristocracy.

There remains the most powerful of these aristocracies, the most redoubtable for the peace of the world, but also the most modern—the Prussian aristocracy. This has succeeded in making itself, if not loved, at least respected, by the workers whom it employs, because it does not limit itself, like almost all the others, to consuming its revenues in castle life or to trusting to land agents the management of its estates. The Prussian Junker is not an idler; he directs in person the management of his land, and very often conducts an industrial enterprise as well, such as a distillery or brewery. The peasants on his domain are not tenants; they are agricultural labourers, working under the proprietor's direction. The revolution which has overthrown the Hohenzollern has not yet touched the Prussian nobility. It seems difficult to understand that this nobility should be able to survive alone in Europe amid the universal collapse of landed aristocracies. And yet it is not strange that the "Socialist" Government of the new "Reich-Republik," which has announced its intention of socialising coal and potash, should not yet have proposed any measure for the expropriation of the Junkers or the assignment of their vast lands to the labouring class? There is, as yet, no sign whatever of an agrarian revolution in Prussia; and we may suppose that the region lying between Elbe and Oder will be the last battlefield of aristocracy in Europe.

Mr. Seignobos must be a pro-German, for he actually admits that the Prussian Junker is not a useless idler, an absentee landlord, like the great English landlords of Irish estates! He says, in conclusion, that the Agrarian revolution now in progress throughout Europe will be the most solid guarantee of peace.

THE NEXT WAR.

"The future General Staff of bidders for world hegemony will be men of the laboratory: thinkers not of 'battles' in feathered hats, but of elemental agencies and abominably scientific-visitations." This, at any rate, in the conclusion of *Civic Milesque* in *The English Review*.

He heads his article, "The Last Unscientific War," and shows that the struggle was a soldiers' war throughout, and was merely unique that for the first time the nationhood behind was as actively engaged as the manhood at the Front in the service of war. The Great War

ended, he says, just when science was beginning. Civilisation will have to choose either to find some scientific equation for peace, or to organise scientifically for war.

The real vulnerability to-day lies at the back. The starvation unquestionably ended the war a year earlier than would have been the case on full home stomachs. In the future the objective will be the enemy's towns or munition sources, which destroyed, would neutralise the armies automatically. This will be the scientists' job. Once man can mobilise natural energy, he can destroy *ad lib*. Such then is the prospect. Science will probably be the real League of Nations. Otherwise the atomic war will come.

When he speaks of science, he means real science, not military strategy, of which the battle of Tannenberg was the outstanding example.

Among current illusions, none is more prevalent than the phrase, "Germany had prepared for the war for forty years," which, of course, is nonsense. Germany was prepared to fight France and Russia, and that is about all, the talk and swagger apart. Germany was not really prepared to fight in 1914, in the Bernhardt or *world sense*. She was just about equal to a contest with France and Russia. There is no doubt whatever—(1) that had she surmised Britain would join in at full strength, (2) that eventually Americans would have a 2,000,000 army in France, (3) that the war would develop into a prolonged siege, a matter of attrition on the one side and of growing power on the other consequent on the possession of sea-power—nothing would have induced the Kaiser in July, 1914, to have thrown his glove into the armed ring. At the Marne, therefore, the Germans lost the war! The answer to that must be a qualified negative. They lost the world-war there; by no means the European war, which on points they won at Brest-Litovsk. . . . History will probably decide that the Germans tumbled into war; that they were militarily inadequately prepared for the death struggle of their professors; that Germany really lost the war—her Empire and dynasty—the year before the day she decided to fight, her brutality and stupidity being cosmic, hence causing an inevitable cosmic reaction.

The Germans, he considers, would not have lost the Marne battle had they not diverted men and guns to East Prussia to defend the Kaiser's estates threatened by the Russians. He holds the Kaiser responsible for the final victory of the Allies:—

There was no Moltke in 1914, there was only the epigone of the "thinker of battles," the man who boasted: "We will arrest the British Army." How was this, seeing that Ludendorff, Hindenburg, and Mackensen unquestionably will rank as great Generals? The

answer is the personal government of the Kaiser. Under his sway, the sycophant triumphed; the command was a Court command, and the Commanding Generals were largely the Kaiser's favourites; merit was obscured. The upper strata of the army were honeycombed with Princely and sycophantic placemen, to hang the Kaiser to-day for which, would really be unsportsmanlike. We owe him the benefit of the doubt—of what might have happened had Ludendorff in 1914 been in supreme command, determined to reach a decision in eight weeks on the West, regardless of the Kaiser's shooting boxes, careless of the Russian inroads, in full control of the Austro-German forces. . . . The Kaiser's Army went to war under their Princes and second-class Generals; under no commanding inspiration. Desperate as their task was in 1914, against an unexpectedly ready Russian invasion, a great fighting General might have succeeded had he dug in on the Eastern front, and—*known a little more* than the Kaiser's Generals did about modern warfare, especially in view of the great reverse suffered by the French in their opening move.

He contends that the Germans were not at all scientifically prepared, because they were short of ammunition.

Had the Germans really prepared for forty years they could not well have lost.

Now, had the Germans studied war scientifically instead of by the copy-book, they would have got hold of a couple of the best electricians, engineers, scientists, and Wellsian minds and assigned them to the General Staff. These civilians would have wanted first of all to know the business, having naturally read Bloch, the Polish writer on war, who had explained all about trenches and the superiority of the modern projectile for defence with the virtual elimination of strategy. They did know about machine-guns, but they had not grasped their offensive potentiality, nor had they at all realised the power of the mobile gun. All this a true scientific staff would have quickly spotted. They would have formulated their plan something like this. If the objective is Paris and the defeat of France *before* Russia can become effective, then overwhelming superiority in attack is indispensable. This means mobility. This again means an army on wheels. A million Germans must be whisked through Belgium into France in twenty-four hours, supported by a second million in reserve. The staff of the Moltkes would have objected, of course, but the *scientific* staff would have provided proof with the vehicles, and perhaps gas demonstrations on dogs. In short, when war came in 1914, the Germans would have gone to war on wheels with ten times the number of machine-guns they did actually possess, ten for every one gun they had, and a thousand times the number of shells of all kinds, and their army would have been at least half a million stronger numerically. They would have had a mobile army of tanks or armoured cars, gas, bombs, and all the appliances gradually introduced, and instead of cavalry they would have

had a corps of 50,000 airmen, who would have opened with a crashing air attack on Paris. With this armoured gas-and-shell-vomiting machine they could have ignored Belgium and have blown through anything. Strategy was not needed. The machine would have done the work, just a vast armoured machine, moving forward with overpowering fire-superiority. But fortunately the Germans were not scientific.

In reality, he says, when the war broke out, the Germans were just an appreciable point in advance of the French. They had failed to grasp the power of the defence or trench warfare, and they were unprepared for a long war. Though their army was supremely efficient in the old sense, the Germans actually started out in ignorance of modern fighting conditions.

Put it in another way, the case of our navy. Now, though it is true that we stuck to coal in preference to oil, had open ammunition hoists, no air "eyes," inadequate director firing, and an imperfect "anti-sub." defence, we were, in our position as mistress of the seas, without a doubt infinitely more ready to defend our claim, quantitatively and qualitatively, than was the German army equal to its self-imposed task, *i.e.*, of pulverising France before Russia could become effective, given the very limited aid we in the time could have rendered.

Germany's scientific dreams were never realised because they had not been perfected when the war broke out, and because the High Command attached only relative importance to them.

Thus Zeppelin's fleet was not ready when we were defenceless, nor were the submarines. Militarism in 1914 had only begun to take up science. The vanity of field glory was still in overwhelming ascendancy. The bacteriologist, the chemist, the electrician, the engineer, the scientist had little to say in the preparations for the Day because war to the Germans was the monopoly of a class interest. The truth is that the world-war caught the Germans unprepared, the most they had visualised being a European war, assisted by a small British army, which was to last six months.

There does seem a good deal of truth in the contention that war will only cease when to fight means annihilation.

Forts are an anachronism, as is everything "fixed," hitherto so dearly beloved of pipe-clay. As we leave ground, we quit the books, we mobilise the laboratory. Whither will it lead us? What engines of destruction will the quiet men who work in "stinks" not discover for those who think of the map? We shall fight in sheets of flame, in clouds of poison; we shall electrocute and depolarise with rays and projections, in collusion with the "jelly" of the air; we shall summon to our aid the elemental energy of the atom.

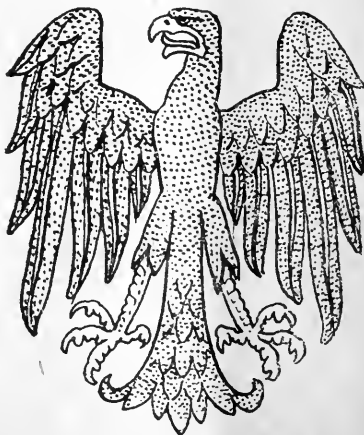
THE NEW GERMAN BIRD.

The Germans still retain the eagle in their coat of arms, but not the old Imperial eagle. They have adopted instead one very similar to that of the Em-

peror Rudolf in the thirteenth century. As shown in the illustration, the new eagle is much less ferocious looking than the old. It is black, with red claws, beak and tongue.



THE OLD BIRD—



AND THE NEW.

CATECHISM ON CURRENT EVENTS.

Q.—Is the population of France still diminishing?

A.—Yes. Even apart from war losses, the decrease in population is far more serious than before the war.

	1914.	1917.	1918.
Excess of deaths over births ..	53,327	269,838	389,575

These are the figures for 77 Departments, and the ten invaded Departments are not included. The totals do not include the losses of soldiers, of whom over 1,700,000 perished during the war. The total population in 1911 was 39,600,000.

Q.—Is there no agitation in Persia against the new British Protectorate?

A.—Certainly there is, but little news of it reaches us. A Russian report has stated that the opposition is menacing, and that twenty prominent Persians, including a Cabinet Minister, had been arrested on a charge of agitating against Britain.

Q.—How much is to be raised by the capital levy in Austria?

A.—The estimate is from eight to ten milliards of crowns. This sum is nominally worth from £320,000,000 to £400,000,000, but the present exchange value is much lower.

Q.—Has the British Government's housing scheme been carried out successfully?

A.—Very few houses have been built, and, up to September, the total number of sites valued for public purchase was only 4449. *Common Sense*, a paper edited by F. W. Hirst, the noted financial writer, declared the housing scheme "a glaring fiasco," its only effect having been to make it impossible for the building trade to provide houses in the ordinary way.

Q.—Are inflated land values interfering with the scheme?

A.—High prices of land appear to be the main cause of the failure, though the general inflation of prices and wages has added to the difficulties. The gains of the landowners whose property is being

bought under this scheme may be seen from the fact that the total valuation for purchase of the 38,813 acres reported on is £6,776,681, whereas the valuation would be only £1,600,000 if the present income from the land were capitalised on a 5 per cent. basis. In other words, the land was worth £80,000 per year to the owners before the Government began purchasing, whereas from the purchase price offered they will obtain an annual income of £338,800 in interest—more than four times as much.

Q.—What is the Whitley scheme of industrial councils?

A.—It is a plan for promoting friendly discussion between employers, managers and employees regarding conditions of work. The scheme was drawn up by a British committee, headed by Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P. In individual factories and other establishments shop councils are set up to discuss conditions; district councils are composed of representatives of the various establishments engaged in a given industry in each district. And in a similar way national councils are formed. Many of the industrial councils are now at work, and are reported to be successful in improving the relations between employers and employed. However, five of the members of the Whitley Committee itself have recorded their opinion that this system cannot do more than settle the less serious conflicts of interest involved in the working of an economic system primarily governed and directed by motives of private profit.

Q.—Is the Australian Government paying the cost of sending the Germans from the internment camps back to Germany?

A.—The Peace Treaty provides (Article 217) that the cost of all these repatriations is to be borne by the German Government.

Q.—Are the German internees being deported against their will?

A.—Detailed figures are not available, but those who are being repatriated at their own request are far more numerous

than those who are being deported. Many also have been denaturalised of their own volition.

Q.—Now that the League of Nations has approved the eight-hours day, will the hours of indentured Asiatics in Fiji be reduced?

A.—We have previously explained that the Labour Convention of the League is merely a statement of ideals, not a legal enactment. The British and Indian Governments have resolved on the abolition of the Fijian indentures, but it is quite possible that the Asiatics under a free labour system would consent to continue working nine hours or even more. Fiji being a Crown Colony, the decision depends, as far as legislation is concerned, upon the Imperial Parliament.

Q.—Drunkenness is reported to have diminished greatly in Britain during the war? What was the cause?

A.—The decrease was remarkable. Convictions for drunkenness in England and Wales last year numbered only 29,075—less than one-sixth of the 1913 total (188,877). The high cost of liquors would partly account for this. Then there would be some among the men on active service who might have over-indulged if they had been at home. But perhaps the most effectual cause of the diminution of drunkenness was the compulsory weakening of the alcoholic strength of beverages. It is a well-known fact that drunkenness is very rare in countries in which the drinking of light wines is almost universal.

Q.—What is the purpose of the Australian Government's regulation forbidding ex-enemy aliens to sell their property?

A.—An adjustment has to be made of debts on both sides. It is proposed in the Peace Treaty that each of the Governments concerned shall establish a State Clearing House to receive and to pay out all sums due on transactions between nationals of the countries lately at war. If any of the Allies' Clearing Houses has a credit balance from this adjustment, it will retain the amount as part of Germany's reparation. In view of these provisions, the Australian Government probably desires that real estate held by German or Austrian nationals shall be retained by them for the present as security for the payment of any debts.

Q.—Is there no hope of an early reduction of shipping freights?

A.—Till quite recently the rates were still rising. An English report of the end of October recorded new increases in the charges on coal shipments. The rates at that time for many classes of commerce were from five to ten times as high as before the war. In consequence shipping shares showed a sudden rise in value—up to 4/- on £1 shares. It will probably be some time before enough ships are built to meet the world's growing needs, and in the meantime the shipping companies will benefit from the scarcity.

Q.—What are the prospects for shipping freights between Australia and overseas ports?

A.—The rates would be much higher than they are now, but for the competition of the Commonwealth Government ships, and the control of certain other ships by the Imperial Government. The *London Journal of Commerce* recently complained that the rate of £5/5/- per ton paid by the British Government for steamers engaged in the Australian grain trade was not sufficient to pay working expenses. If the Government's control were removed, the paper added, there would be a sharp rise in the freights. This being so, it is impossible to hope for an early reduction in general freights to and from Australia, unless on the Commonwealth's boats, which can carry only a small proportion of the cargoes.

Q.—Are the butter producers of Australia and New Zealand reaping the benefit of the present high prices in Britain?

A.—Apparently not. The British Government, according to a recent cable, announced that the profits on the sale of Australasian butter were being used to balance the loss on butter from America, Canada and Ireland.

Q.—Has Germany any representation at all on the international commission to control the navigation of the Rhine?

A.—The German riparian States are allowed four representatives on the Commission. France is to appoint the President of the Commission and four members. Two representatives from each of the following nations:—Britain, Belgium, Italy, Holland and Switzerland—will bring the total up to 19.

Q.—Is Germany excluded from the commission to control the Danube?

A.—“As a provisional measure,” the Treaty provides that the European Commission shall be composed of representatives of only Britain, France, Italy and Roumania. This Commission controls almost the whole of the river, even the part within Germany as far as Ulm. On the remainder of the course another Commission, including small German representation, will have authority.

Q.—What other rivers are internationalised, and what representation has Germany on the controlling bodies?

A.—(1) The Elbe and its tributary, the Vltava, as far as Prague; (2) the Oder, from its confluence with the Oppa; (3) the Niemen, from Grodno. The Elbe Commission has four German representatives out of ten; the Oder Commission three German representatives out of nine; and the Niemen Commission, which is not to be appointed until some riparian State asks for its establishment, is to have one representative of each riparian State, and three other members.

Q.—On what conditions are the international rivers open to general trade?

A.—Equality of treatment for all nations is stipulated. Customs duties, local consumption taxes, and ordinary port dues may be levied, but no other charges may be imposed on those using these waterways. It is notable that, even where waterways pass through German territory, Allied nationals are to have the same rights as Germans, while Germany is not permitted to claim reciprocal rights in the territories of the Allies. Germany has to give some of her river boats and other material to the Allies. The value of these, reckoned on a pre-war basis, will be credited to her reparation account.

Q.—Have the Allies restored the neutral ships which they commandeered during the war?

A.—The United States has restored the Dutch ships seized, giving compensation for their use. The Americans also came to an agreement recently with Norway regarding the compensation to be paid for twenty-seven Norwegian vessels, which were being built in American yards, but were requisitioned by the American Government. We have not yet seen any announcement from Britain

regarding the 400,000 tons of Dutch shipping seized in British ports, but the same course is sure to be taken.

Q.—Will the Allies compensate neutrals for those commandeered vessels that were sunk, and for lives lost?

A.—Compensation will have to be given where the actual ships cannot be restored, but, where passengers or members of the crew lost their lives, any assistance granted would be, presumably, on the same basis as for other ships sunk.

Q.—It is said that in 1917 British ships were being sunk by submarines in far greater numbers than the Admiralty would admit. Is this true?

A.—Admiral Sims, of the American navy, states that the published figures were gross deceptions; the actual sinkings being “three or four times” as great, and that the Germans were then rapidly winning the war. He adds, “I discussed the situation constantly with all the members of the Cabinet—Mr. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Edward Carson and the rest. Their attitude to me was very different from the attitude which they were taking publicly.” Readers will recall that STEAD’s consistently pointed out that the figures given by the Admiralty were thoroughly inaccurate.

Q.—How many British merchant ships were lost during the war?

A.—The number lost by enemy action was 2479, representing 7,759,000 tons. Of these 2099 were sunk by submarines, 259 by mines, and 4 by aircraft. The lives lost were 14,287. In addition, 5920 lives were lost on vessels attacked but not sunk, and 534 lives were lost on fishing boats that were destroyed.

Q.—How will the British and American mercantile fleets compare when ships now building are completed?

A.—America is slackening her rate of building, while Britain is speeding up. At the end of June Britain had 16,345,000 tons, against America’s, 9,773,000 tons of sea-going vessels. With vessels under construction the totals will be respectively 19,162,000 tons, and 13,244,000 tons. Before the war Britain had more than nine times as much shipping as America—18,892,000 tons, against 2,027,000 tons.

Q.—How many vessels are now being built in Britain?

A.—At the end of September the number was 781, with a gross tonnage of 2,817,000. This tonnage was 293,000 tons higher than the total for the end of June, and was 1,070,000 tons higher than that under construction a year ago.

Q.—Why have American weekly papers ceased coming to Australia recently?

A.—A strike of printers has prevented most of the New York weeklies from continuing publication. The daily papers are not affected. A few papers have succeeded in continuing publication in spite of the strike by the ingenious device of photographing the typewritten pages on to lithographic stones and printing from these. The lithographic pressmen were not on strike.

Q.—What are the facts about the new silent aeroplanes said to be invented in Germany?

A.—Nothing definite is known, but a Zurich report states that experiments are being carried out in utmost secrecy. The new planes have a gas turbine, which is said to give almost noiseless flight. Giant aeroplanes, capable of carrying 64 people, are said to have been built with the new motor.

Q.—Are the Germans developing their Zeppelins for peace uses?

A.—A German company is trying to arrange a regular Zeppelin service between Stockholm, Copenhagen and Berlin with the object of taking a leading position in Scandinavia, as against British and French rivals. Successful trial flights are reported to have been made by a huge airship driven by seven motors and able to carry 100 passengers.

Q.—Is consumption a prevalent disease in America?

A.—Considerably more so than in Australia. It is estimated that there are a million people with the disease in the States, and the death rate from this cause is about 1.4 per thousand. Australia has a lower death rate from tuberculosis than almost any other country, namely, 0.61 per thousand. New Zealand's rate is about the same, and the only two recorded countries with a lower rate are Roumania and Denmark.

Q.—Was Mr. Hughes correct when he stated that the Northern Territory was full of Russians, Danes and Dagos?

A.—It is interesting to learn that the Northern Territory is full of any sort of people. Unfortunately, Mr. Hughes' statement, as reported, was as incorrect as many others he has made during the election. Had any lesser man referred to our gallant Italian Allies as "Dagos" during the war he would undoubtedly have got into trouble. Since 1911, when taken over by the Commonwealth, the fostering care of the Federal Government has managed to increase the population from 3248 to 4781. At the last census 1505 of the inhabitants were Australian born; 1540 were Asiatics, 362 came from the United Kingdom, and 49 from various European countries. There may be a few Italians there, there certainly are a fair number of Russians, but there are no Danes at all. Clearly Mr. Hughes would have been nearer the mark had he said that the Northern Territory was full of Chinese and Japanese and Commonwealth officials.

Q.—How are the markets for silver, lead, tin and copper likely to be affected by the ending of the war?

A.—It is impossible to give any forecast except in the case of tin. As the present known sources of tin are being heavily drawn upon, and as there is no other commercial material to replace this metal for canning purposes, its price is expected to remain high. In regard to the other metals the situation is complicated by the large stocks held by the Allied Governments. The market may be regulated by the way in which these stocks are sold. Private combines may also influence the situation, as the Zinc and Lead Convention before the war kept the price of lead higher than it might otherwise have been. If Peace is firmly assured and the manufacture of armaments and munitions reduced accordingly, the market for copper and all the base metals is likely to be affected. As to silver: China is buying heavily, and the demand for this metal in the East generally for currency purposes or for hoarding may keep the quotation high. While this is so, the correcting factor is that mines that are idle when prices are low are reopened as the market improves and tend to establish a lower average price.

HISTORY IN CARICATURE



• • • • • Oh wad some Power the gifte gie us
To see oursel as ilhers see us.—BURNS.



It is the spectator who sees most of the game. A neutral cartoonist pictures the Central Empires as a dry cow, in a starved condition, from which the Allies are trying to extract unlimited quantities of milk. Another neutral discovers the cause of President Wilson's nervous breakdown in the apparition of His Majesty the Cloven Hoof demanding membership in the League of Nations. A third neutral reminds us that a vindictive victory is the father of revenge. The three cartoons mentioned come from Sweden, Norway and Holland respectively.



[Notenkraker.]

[Amsterdam.]

THE WAR TO END WAR.

"Excellency, the Peace guns have been fired."
"Good! Now, load them for the coming war of revenge."



[Sondags Nisse.]

[Stockholm.]

MILKING DAY FOR THE ALLIES.



[Heepsen.]

[Christiania.]

WHAT MADE WILSON ILL.

An unexpected claimant for membership in the League of Nations.



Kladderadatsch.]

[Berlin.

THE GOOD FAIRY (Work): "Cheer up! I'll save you and lift that evil spell!"



Lustige Blaetter.]

[Berlin.

Justice and Pity trodden down by the new Apocalyptic riders.

In the German comments there is some bitterness, as we should expect; but there is hope, too—hope of redemption by toil.

A German paper represents President Wilson as going to sleep at the Peace



Kladderadatsch.]

[Berlin.

WILSON AT THE PEACE TABLE.

CLEMENCEAU (to Lloyd George): "I hope the spirits of Washington and Lincoln don't wake him at the last moment."



Public Ledger.]

[Philadelphia.

"HO-HUM! WHENEVER YOU'RE CONVINCED!"



[News.] [Newark, U.S.A.]
THE POLITICIAN'S HOPE.—A YELLOW PERIL CLOUD.

Table, while M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George divided the spoils. But Mr. Wilson did not go to sleep. A far better explanation of his abandonment



[Herald.] [New York.]
UNCLE SAM: "Just where do I get off?"

of his proclaimed principles is found in American sentiment.

Several of the American artists show the insincerity of the Senate's bothering over Shantung. The picture of the "medicine man" trying to bring down showers (of votes) out of a "yellow peril" cloud by tum-tumming on the



[Tribune.]
BRITAIN in Egypt (1882): "Our occupation of Egypt will be only temporary."



[Chicago.]
JAPAN in Shantung (1919): "Our occupation of Shantung will be only temporary."



Tribune.]

[New York.

NO FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.

Shantung drum is very realistic. This vote-catching is not conscious, perhaps. There is good reason to object to Japan's encroachment on China. As another cartoonist suggests, she is taking the same attitude as Britain took in Egypt; the same attitude as she herself took in Korea. The occupation of Shantung is



Westminster Gazette.]

[London.

JOHN BULL TRIES TO UNDERSTAND THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM.

only "intended" to be temporary; but then intentions may change. But are the Senators as anxious to save China as they are to denounce Japan?

Among a large collection of American cartoons on the Peace Treaty we find



Mucha.]

THE RUSSIAN OF THE FUTURE.

[Warsaw.

As (1) the Entente and (2) General Denekine would like to see him.





Central Press Association, U.S.A.]
PURELY A FAMILY AFFAIR NOW,
BUT—

only two ideas generally expressed—on the one hand the idea that America is not fairly treated, having only one vote, for instance, in the League against the British Empire's six; on the other hand,



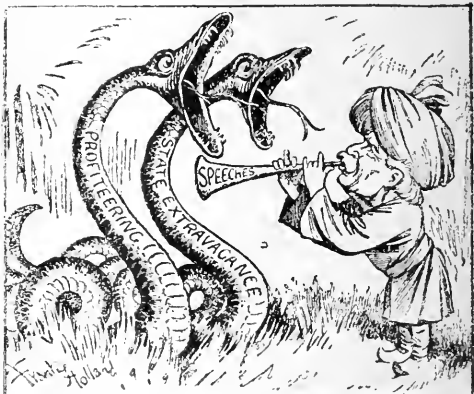
Passing Show.] [London.
CRUEL TO BE KIND.

LLOYD GEORGE: "Hold your noise! I've brought you here to enjoy yourselves, and enjoy yourselves you shall."

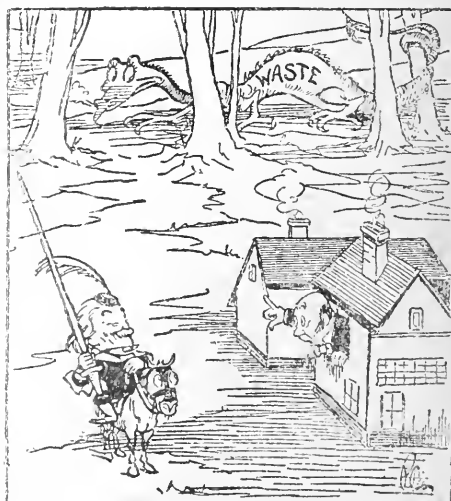


De Amsterdammer.] [Amsterdam.
THE INTERNATIONAL PUZZLE.

How to get him out without breaking the bottle.



John Bull.] [London.
THE SNAKE-CHARMER (?).



Evening News.] [London.
SUCH A LOOK!

JOHN: "Haven't you killed the Dragon yet?"
GEORGE: "No; but I've given it such a look!"



Evening News.]

[London.

REMOVE THAT THORN.

UNCLE SAM: "Come on, John; we're all ready for the start."
 JOHN: "I'm not."

we have the criticism that all the opposition to the Treaty is simply political vote-catching. There is not a single suggestion of any popular feeling in the United States that might have inspired the Pre-



Daily Express.]

[London.

ARMY WASTE.



Passing Show.]

[London.

NOBODY'S CHILD.

sident to stand by the ideals that he claimed as his own.

One of the happiest comments on profiteering is given in *Passing Show's* picture, "Nobody's Child."



Passing Show.]

[London.

THE LAST OF THE ANZACS.



LORD FISHER'S MEMORIES.*

It is an exceedingly difficult matter to review the haphazard memoranda which Lord Fisher has thrown together and issued in book form. He remains, at 78, the same genial, human man, full of boyish enthusiasm as ever, despite the grievous disappointments which he experienced during the war, and his book is like his conversation, vigorous, violent and vehement. He was always a fighter, always being attacked and calumniated, always striving to overcome opposition, but ever determined that the British navy should be supreme. Probably no man is more hated, no man more beloved, in the entire navy. The fury and bitterness of the attacks made on him give ample evidence that he must be a most remarkable man. That he was a man who got things done even his bitterest enemies must admit. He is a tremendous believer in getting in the first blow, and the god of his idolatry is Nelson.

My father and he were the closest of friends, meeting first in 1884, when W. T. Stead was engaged in investigating the state of the British navy, an enquiry which led to the publication of "The Truth About the Navy," in the columns of *The Pall Mall Gazette*. The reconstruction of the navy dated from that year. When beginning the enquiry, at the suggestion of Mr. Arnold Foster—who later became Secretary of State for War—W. T. S. was told that he could find no abler officer afloat or ashore than Captain Jacky Fisher, of the *Excellent*. The rules of the service against giving any information to the press were very strict, but Captain Fisher, knowing the parlous state of the navy, and, realising that the public must be aroused if things were to be remedied, supplied the information required. W. T. S. and he used to meet at wayside railway stations,

and out-of-the-way spots, and it was not until 1903, nineteen years later, that the fact of their collaboration on that occasion was made known.

At that time Admiral Fisher was acting with Lord Esher and Sir George Clarke—now Lord Sydenham—as a commission to advise as to the remodelling and reform of the War Office, whose organisation had hopelessly broken down during the South African War. It was a curious coincidence that Lord Esher in 1884 was my father's other collaborator in the "Truth About the Navy." He was then Mr. Reginald Brett, private secretary of the Secretary of State for War. Without his aid the articles on the navy could not have been written. It was not, however, until Fisher and Esher met on the Commission to reform the army that they learned that they had indirectly co-operated in reforming the navy a couple of decades. W. T. S. was not in the least secretive, but he kept this matter secret for twenty years, never mentioned, for an even longer period, that when editing *The Pall Mall Gazette*, he was offered the famous Parnell letters by Piggot, letters which were later published by *The Times*. The sensational trial will be recalled in which the proving of the letters to be forgeries made Mr. Asquith's reputation.

Lord Fisher thus refers to my father in his book:—

While on personalities, I should like to say a little on one of the best friends I ever had, and, in my opinion, the greatest of all journalists. Lord Morley once told me that he had never known the equal of W. T. Stead in his astounding gift of catching the public feeling. He was absolute integrity, and he feared no man. I myself have heard him tackle a Prime Minister like a terrier a rat! I have known him go to a packed meeting and scathe the whole lot of them. He never thought of money; he only thought of truth. He might have been a rich man if he hadn't told the truth. I know it. When he was

* "Memories," by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher. Hodder and Stoughton.

over sixty he performed a journalistic feat that was wondrous. By King Edward's positive orders a cordon was arranged round the *Indomitable* arriving late at night at Cowes with the Prince of Wales on board, to prevent the press being a nuisance. Stead, in a small boat, dropped down with the tide and swarmed up a rope ladder under the bows, about thirty feet high, and then along a sort of a greasy pole, known to sailors as the lower boom, talked to one of the officers, who naturally supposed he could not be there without permission; and *The Daily Mail* the next morning had the most perfect digest I have ever read of, perhaps one of the most wonderful passages ever made. This big battle-cruiser encumbered with the heaviest guns known, and with hundreds and hundreds of tons of armour on her side, beat the *Mauretania*, the greyhound of the seas, built of ginger bread, carrying no cargo and shaped for no other purpose than for speed and luxury. . . . Stead always told me he would die in his boots. Strife was his portion, he said. I am not sure that my friend, Arnold White, would not have shot him at sight during the Boer war. Stead was a pro-Boer, and so was I. I simply loved Botha, and Botha gave me great words.

Writing to Lord Esher on April 22nd, 1912, from Naples, Lord Fisher said:—

This loss of dear old Stead numbs me. Cromwell and Martin Luther rolled into one. And such a big heart! Such great emotions. You must write something. All I've read quite inadequate. The telegrams here say he was to the forefront with the women and children, putting them into the boats! I can see him! and probably singing *Hallelujah* and encouraging the ship's band to play cheerfully. He told me he would die in his boots. So he has! And a fine death! As a boy he had three-pence a week pocket money. One penny bought Shakespeare in weekly parts, and the other two pennies to his God for missions. And the result was he became editor of a big paper at 22! He was a missionary himself all his life. Fearless even when alone, believing in his God—the God of truth—and his enemies always rued it when they fought him. He was an exploiter of gas bags, and the terror of liars! He was called a wild man because he said two keels to one. He was at Berlin—the High Personage said to him: "Don't be frightened!" Stead replied to the All Highest: "Oh, no, we won't; for every Dreadnought you build, we will build two!" That was the genesis of the cry, "Two keels to one"! I have a note of it made at the time for my "Reflections." But, my dear friend, put your concise pen to paper for our Cromwellian saint. He deserves it.

Lord Fisher's book is very disjointed, and again and again in it he deplores the fact that he must reach his readers through cold print instead of meeting them eye to eye and speaking as he knew how with enthusiasm and emphasis. He has evidently dictated these Memories at odd times walking about the room,

and saying just what occurred to him at the moment. Consequently there is much repetition, and many of his phrases which would carry conviction if spoken by him, fall flat when written. Perhaps the most interesting part of the whole volume is that devoted to the letters he wrote Lord Esher from 1903 to 1912, for they throw a flood of light on that strenuous period when, as First Sea Lord, he inaugurated the "Dreadnought" era, and brought home "160 vessels of war that could neither fight nor run away"; carried out that re-arrangement of British sea-power, against furious opposition, which concentrated 88 per cent. of the navy on Germany, and did all manner of things to improve the general efficiency of the fleet.

But Fisher, having revolutionised navies by the introduction of the battle-cruiser, was on to the next change before the world had realised what the introduction of the all-big-gun ship meant. In 1912 he was all for "changing the face of the navy," and, as Lloyd George told him, "getting the coal of England as his mortal enemy." He had returned from abroad to become chairman of a Royal Commission on Oil. It was, he says, a sad business for him financially.

I only possessed a few hundred pounds, and I put it into oil—I had to sell out, of course, on becoming Chairman of the Oil Commission, and what I put those few hundreds into caused a disappearance of most of those hundreds, and when I emerged from the Royal Commission the oil shares had more than quintupled in value, and gone up to twenty times what they were when I first put in.

Writing to Lord Esher, he urged that we should get in first with motor ships before the Germans.

Owing to our apathy, during the last two years, they are ahead with internal combustion engines. They have killed 15 men in experiments with oil engines, and we have not killed one! And a — fool of an English politician told me the other day that he thinks this creditable to us! Without any doubt a big German oil engine-cruiser is under weigh. We must press forward. . . . These — politics are barring the way. "What" (say these trembling idiots), "another Dreadnought revolution," and these boneless fools chatter with fear like apes when they see an elephant! The imagination cannot picture that "a greater than the Dreadnought is here!" Imagine a silhouette presenting a target 33 per cent. less than any living or projected battleship. No funnels—no masts—no smoke

—she carries over 5000 tons of oil, enough to take her round the world without refuelling!"

Lord Fisher then goes on to describe, still in the letter of September, 1912, the internal-combustion-engine battle-cruiser the *Nonpareil* for which all the drawings and designs were ready.

He wrote as follows in 1912 about the 13½-inch gun: "Yes! that 13½-inch gun that all my colleagues (bar one and he is our future Nelson—Jellicoe) thought me mad to force through against unanimous disapproval—and see where we are now in consequence. We shall have 16 Dreadnoughts with the 13½-inch guns before the Germans have one! So it will be with the *Nonpareil*. We have got to have her. . . . I've worked harder over this job than in all my life before." As First Sea Lord during the war, Lord Fisher arranged for the building of 20-inch guns to go into the *Incomparable*, of 40,000 tons, and 40 knots speed.

The book abounds in vigorous terse expressions and breathes throughout the wonderful personality and magnetism of the man. McKenna, who was First Lord of the Admiralty during a most critical period, won Fisher's regard. "He is a real fighter," says the Admiral, "and the navy-haters will pass over his dead body."

Oil engines and internal combustion, about which I so dilated at our dinner and bored you. Since that night (July 11th, 1910) Bloom and Voss, in Germany have received an order to build a motor liner, for the Atlantic trade. No engineers, no stokers, and no funnels, no boilers! Only a — chauffeur! The economy prodigious! As the Germans say, "Kolossal billig!" But what will it be for war? Why, all the past pales before the prospect!!! I say to McKenna: "Shove 'em over the precipice! Shove! (Referring to the obstructionists in the Admiralty and Government.) But he's all alone, poor devil!"

In a following letter he refers to wireless, urging that the Government should make an English-speaking monopoly of it.

No one at the Admiralty or elsewhere has as yet any, the least idea, of the immense revolution both for peace and war purposes which will be brought about by the future development of wireless. . . . Believe me, the wireless in the future is the soul and spirit of peace and war, and, therefore, must be in the hands of the Committee of Defence! You can't cut the air! You can cut a telegraph cable!

He complains in another letter, April, 1912, that "we are lagging behind in out-Dreadnoughting the Dreadnought!"

We want more speed—less armour—a 15-inch gun—more subdivision—oil only. . . . The *Nonpareil*. . . . I owe more than I can say to McKenna. I owe nearly as much to Winston for scrapping a dozen Admirals on December 5th last, so as to get Jellicoe second in command of the Home Fleet. If war comes before 1914 then Jellicoe will be Nelson at the Battle of St. Vincent: If it comes in 1914 then he'll be Nelson at Trafalgar. . . . Jellicoe will be Admiralissimo when Armageddon comes along, and everything that was done revolved around that, and no one has seen it!

Lord Fisher was all for the Nelson method at Copenhagen, and, as the Germans were fully aware of this, we can understand how they regarded Great Britain. "When I was a delegate at the Hague Convention," he writes, "I had very animated conversations, which, however, to my lasting regret, it was deemed inexpedient to place on record (on account of their violence I believe) regarding the "Trading with the enemy." I stated the primordial fact that "the essence of war is violence; moderation in war is imbecility." . . . It's quite silly not to make war damnable to the whole mass of your enemy's population which is, of course, the secret of maintaining the right of Capture of Private Property at Sea!"

In a letter written to King Edward in March, 1908, Fisher urged that Russia should be allowed to fortify the Aland Islands. "For a naval war with Germany we want Russia with us, and we want the Aland Islands fortified."

Unless our offensive is quick and overwhelming, Germany will close the Baltic just as effectually as Turkey locks up the Black Sea with the possession of the Dardanelles! Russia and Turkey are the two Powers, and the only two Powers, that matter to us as against Germany, and that we have eventually to fight Germany is just as sure as anything can be, solely because she cannot expand commercially without it.

This letter was written, says the Admiral, after a long conversation with His Majesty, "in which I urged that we should 'Copenhagen' the German Fleet at Kiel *a la Nelson*, and I lamented that we possessed neither a Pitt nor a Bismarck to give the order." This scheme of Fisher's was known to the German Emperor, who said to Mr. Beit: "Fisher thinks it is the hour for an attack, and

I am not blaming him. I quite understand his point of view. . . . Fisher can no doubt land 100,000 men in Schleswig-Holstein—it would not be difficult— . . . but Fisher forgets that it will be for me to deal with the 100,000 men when they are landed."

The army in Lord Fisher's opinion should be regarded as a "projectile to be fired by the navy," and he bent all his energies on the Commission charged with reforming the War Office to bringing about closer co-operation between the two services. We must get the army afloat, he said, somehow or other, and gave illustrations of the spirit shown by young submarine lieutenants when trying out that arm for the first time. "How splendid if we could shove the same ginger into the young military aspirants, and they all came from the same schools! but the whole secret is to catch them very young, and mould them while they are so plastic and receptive to be just what you want them." Three-fifths of every man-of-war's crews ought to be soldiers in his opinion.

He strongly opposed the military schemes for creating an army to fight on the Continent, holding that the navy was the first, second and third and ultimately fourth line of defence, and that the army should be used only in connection with it. A favourite expression of his was that no soldier could get out of England unless a sailor carried him on his back. He wrote to Lord Esher, pointing out that the General Staff's criticism of his report was "the thin end of the insidious wedge of our taking part in Continental war as apart absolutely from coastal military expeditions in pure concert with the navy—expeditions involving hell to the enemy because, backed by an invisible navy (the citadel of the military force)!" In another letter, written September, 1911, he said, "I simply tremble at the consequences if the British Red Coats are to be planted on the Vosges frontier (meaning the dread of conscription and a huge army for Continental warfare).

I shouldn't have written again so soon except for just now seeing in a Paris paper that Sir John French, accompanied by four officers, had landed at Calais *en route* to the French headquarters, and expatiating on the evident intention of joint military action! Do you remember the classic interview we had

with the late King in his cabin? If this is on the tapis again then we have another deep regret for the loss of that sagacious intuition.

At the interview he refers to, the King had most strongly disapproved the creation of a Continental army.

Lord Fisher's comments on the Australian system of defence are valuable. He wrote, on May 27, 1910, as follows:

The Commonwealth Government has just sent a confidential telegram to Sir George Reid to ask me to go as their guest to advise on the navy. I've declined. I'd go as Director but not as Advisor. Also they have commenced all wrong, and it would involve me in a campaign I intend to keep clear of with the soldiers. . . . Kitchener and the Australians in drawing up their scheme of defence forgot that Australia was an island. So do we here in England.

In another place he says:—

When Lord Kitchener went to Australia to inaugurate the scheme of Defence, he forgot that Australia was an island. What Australia wants to make it impregnable is not conscription—it's submarines.

I remember W. T. Stead telling me at the time that he had discussed the Australian offer with Fisher, who insisted that what were needed in the Commonwealth were destroyers and submarines, and defensive craft which could hold off an enemy until capital ships arrived from British stations. These auxiliary craft would be invaluable in co-operating with the battle-cruisers.

Lord Fisher is able to show conclusively that he was against the Dardanelles campaign, but, finally, under pressure, concurred in it as to resign meant the sacrificing of the scheme which he confidently believed, and still believes, would have ended the war in 1915. He thoroughly supported Nelson's dictum that "no sailor but a fool would ever attack a fort." He asserted that the loss of 12 battleships must be expected before the Dardanelles could be forced by the navy alone, and was the only member of the War Council who dissented from the project. "But I did not carry my dissent to the point of resignation, because I understood that there were overwhelming political reasons why the attempt at least should be made." He did not imagine the failure he foresaw would entail more than the loss of a few ships, and that then the project could be given up and his major scheme be energetically prosecuted.

On May 14th, 1915, the War Council made it clear to me that the great projects in northern waters which I had in view in laying down the Armada of new vessels were at an end, and the further drain on our naval resources foreshadowed that evening convinced me that I could no longer countenance the Dardanelles' operations, and the next day I resigned. It seemed to me that I was faced at last by a progressive frustration of my main scheme of naval strategy. Gradually the crowning work of war construction was being diverted and perverted from its original aim.

The first thing Lord Fisher did when he was called to the Admiralty after the early naval disasters of the war was to order the immediate construction of 612 warships, including 200 motor barges, five battle-cruisers, 64 submarines and 37

monitors. This Armada was being built at record speed—submarines in five months, instead of 14, destroyers in nine instead of 18, and immense battle-cruisers with 18-inch and 15-inch guns in eleven months instead of two years. It was, he writes, "the desolation of my life to leave the Admiralty at that moment! Knowing that once out I should never get back."

This remarkable book was written by a man who has demonstrated himself a naval genius possessed of an intuitive pre-vision—one of England's greatest men. In our next issue I hope to give some typical extracts which further disclose the nature of the man.—H.S.

HIS HUMBLE HARBINGER.

BY F. D'A. C. DE L'ISLE.

Looking back now, after the lapse of long years, my mind is often filled with an inquisitive wonder when I recall the many strange experiences that befell me in that extraordinary land where all is mystic and marvellous. I aptly say inquisitive wonder, because, to this day, all those mysterious manifestations possess a strangeness that many years of thought and study have as yet failed to make clear to me.

Although India has been the home of the Englishman for many generations now, nevertheless I think we are as far off as ever from any tangible knowledge of the singular powers of foreknowledge, of occultism, and of the spiritualism that form the silent and steadfast undercurrent of Oriental life. We have ever been prone to discount the nervous fatalism, the refined physical contact, the psychogenesis, and the influence of occult phenomena that are latent factors ever present, though unobtrusively so, in the theism of the Oriental cosmos. Though I cannot definitely account for our ignorance upon these subjects, it yet seems to me that the pureness of romance and religion in the East (the romance and religion, mind you, gentle reader, of the unadulterated progression of thousands of years) contains and consists of a refinement and a nervous energy undestroyed by the experimentalism of the West, whose experiences of half a hundred creeds and as many empirical doc-

trines have imbued its spirit with a coarseness and unbelief too wanton to permit of a closer contact with the unseen influences controlling our common destinies. In mere words, then, the West has made of its religions a business, while the barbarous East retains the refinement of romance in religions that call for the fullest expansion of soul, brain, and love. However, be all religions good, we must allow that the occult knowledge or manifestations of the Orientals passes our present comprehension in the West.

Old Anglo-Indians will understand me when I say that in India the faithfulness and affections of old and tried servants is problematical. There are native families who have served European families for generation after generation, the fathers before the sons, and the mothers before the daughters, for years and years right back to the earliest days of the Kumpani Bahadur, as the East India Company was called.

In my own experience I can remember being served by greybeards who had served my father before me, and my grandfather before my father. The ancient durzi (tailor), who sat on the verandah of the bungalow, and copied Tautz's most perfect creations with a minuteness and finish that made the original and the replica undistinguishable one from the other, had turned out the peg-top trousers, in nankeen, of my father before me. The old ayah who

nursed my younger brothers and sisters had dandled my mother in her arms; the Durwan had kept the gate for over 30 years for our family; and an ancient "Kitmaghar" had worn the family crest on his head-dress and stood behind the chairs of three generations. I can safely say that the respect, reverence, and love of these old servants was a thing to swell the hearts of all members of the family.

The fact or case that I am about to relate happened to a brother officer of mine at the time when the murders of Lord Mayo and the Chief Justice of Bengal (Judge Norman) were agitating the minds of all officialdom in India, and also of the Government in England. For the rumours of another mutiny were rife, and the followers and co-religionists of Shere Ali made no attempt to conceal their intentions of raising a "bobbery" against the British "raj." Edward Damer was at that time a junior lieutenant of the 18th Bengal Lancers, a regiment that had at one time been known as the 2nd Maharatta Horse; and they were quartered at Nowshera. I made the acquaintance of Damer some years after the event I am about to relate, when he was well up in seniority in his regiment (he had exchanged from the 18th B.L. to the 28th B.L.), and as senior captain and adjutant of the famous 28th he served with distinction through the second Afghan campaign. After the strenuous experiences of that memorable war, Damer was invalided, and went to Dhera Doon for change and rest: and there, one night, during the cool summer season of the hills, he told me of the following incident, over our "pegs" and cheroots:—

When Damer first arrived in India he was approached by a bearer, who held a "chit," or reference, from his (Damer's) father, whom the man had served for some years. Damer told me that the man had hunted him up somehow, but how he could not say. He had only been in Calcutta four hours, and had barely settled himself in his rooms at Wilson's Hotel when the bearer turned up, presented his "chit" with many salaams, and was at once engaged by the son of his former master. Damer had not then the advantages of the rigorous cramming of a "Munshi," and he found the bearer invaluable as a valet and general facto-

tum. The old man was a high-caste Hindu, as the caste marks on his face always proved. He knew no English, but that he understood the language most thoroughly was unmistakable. And Damer declared that as an educational factor the bearer was almost of more service to him in mastering Hindi and Nagri than even his "Munshi" was. The servant soon learnt to idolise his young master, and his devotion showed itself in unremitting attention, a heroic forbearance when his hot-tempered master forgot himself, and a dog-like affection and attendance through all the thousand and one worries and ills that the "griffin's" flesh is heir to.

The bearer, though old and badly afflicted with elephantiasis of the left leg, was a remarkably active man for his years, and so well and faithfully did he serve Damer that after going through his "Munshi's" hands and passing his native languages examination, Damer took the old man to Nowshera with him, and had him placed "on the strength" of the regiment as his body servant. For a few years the bearer served his master well and satisfactorily, and Damer was genuinely distressed to notice that the elephantiasis was increasing with the advance of age, and that consequently his bearer was beginning to find it interfering with his locomotion. With the growth of his infirmity the old servant became proportionately devout. He told Damer that God had seen fit to appoint him to religious work, and that in a very short space of time, when he knew he no longer would be able to move with any freedom, he would be reluctantly compelled to quit his loved and honoured Chota Sahib's service, and resign himself to a long and weary pilgrimage to the shrine of Bhudda. One morning, some months later, when he could just barely walk with extreme difficulty, the bearer appeared before Damer with a tall, well-built youth of some 18 years, and introducing the boy as his son, said:

"Oh, honoured Chota Sahib, illustrious son of my beloved Burra Sahib, even now I must leave thy service, for thou seest that my time is come. Accept, then, defender of the poor, my son, who will serve thee faithfully in my stead. As his father served thy fathers, so shall the boy serve thee, even until thou dost

depart across the *kala pani* (sea) as thy noble father did. But Khodawand, bear with the youth in his novitiate. He will learn not to disgrace his father, and he will ever be faithful to the Pultan Sahib, his master."

Damer felt as much affected, at the parting, as the old bearer, and he hastened to assure the old man that his boy would always be retained in his service while he lived. Having offered to make some substantial provision for his father's old servant, who had also served him so well and so devotedly, the bearer thanked him profusely, but declined all assistance, saying—

"Oh, bountiful sahib, thy servant henceforth is beyond the reach of want. In the holiness of my faith I will live to watch over thee. Though far from thee in body, my spirit will ever be with thee, illustrious son of my beloved master!"

He blessed Damer solemnly, with the tears of true affliction watering his withered cheeks. And their leave-taking was like the parting of father and son, so Damer told me.

The bearer's son proved a splendid servant. Some three months after he had joined Damer he informed him that the old bearer had started on a pilgrimage to Benares. About six months later Damer journeyed to Allahabad to see a married sister, and on the morning of his arrival at her house, in the Cawnpore road, he received a visit from his old bearer. This surprised Damer, for no one knew of his intention of visiting Allahabad, except his sister, to whom he had telegraphed on the day of his departure from Nowshera. But in the interest and excitement of meeting his former servant, Damer forgot to ask him how he came to know of his (Damer's) visit there.

The poor old fellow was terribly afflicted; the elephantiasis had increased dreadfully, and he could no longer walk, or stand even. He lay on his back in a bullock cart, surrounded with the signs and tokens of his holy calling. He was very much changed for the worse, and he informed Damer that he was very shortly to cross the Rubicon. After some minutes' conversation, he startled Damer by saying:—

"In three months' time, illustrious sahib, thy life will be in the greatest dan-

ger. Between thy life and eternity there will be but the expanse of a hair's breadth. But Khodawand! God has willed that thou shalt live to perpetuate the glories of thy great name. Huzzoor, it is no old woman's tale. Be forewarned! Be prepared! Oh, bravest of the brave, great son of my Burra Sahib, never sleep without thy tulwar at thy side and thy pistols at thy right hand! I have been warned, Chota Sahib! Take this present, O most noble! Treasure it, make it thy bap (child), for in that pigmy carcase lies the surety of thy life!"

He took from the sacking at his side a wretched little pariah dog, that he stroked fondly and spoke to in reverent language; then he handed it over to Damer, who confessed to me that he accepted the uninviting little gift with a certain amount of perturbation. But the old man reassured him.

"Be not offended, Chota Sahib; the 'topus' (lowest class of native servant) will wash him daily, and the 'kuttha' (dog) will be pleasant to thee and gain thy affections. Take him, Huzzoor! It is written, the dog shall save thee from death!"

Then the old fakir and erstwhile bearer departed, after blessing Damer, who never saw him again.

Now this is where the mysterious part of Damer's narrative comes in. The pariah dog, in the careful hands of the "topus," became a clean and wholesome little animal. Damer puzzled long and deeply over the possible pedigree of the pup, and he finally decided that the dog's mother had been a cross between an Irish terrier and a King Charles spaniel, while the father must have been half pug and half black-and-tan terrier. The pup itself was ginger coloured, like its maternal grandfather; it had black legs, a black nose, and beady black goggle eyes—the certain heritage of its maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather. Its hair and ears were long, the former light and silky, pointing to its sure maternal grandmother; while its tail said black-and-tan toy terrier so unmistakably that the identity of its paternal grandmother appeared to be established without a shadow of a doubt. This mere handful of so many breeds, was bright, sparkling, intensely vivacious and active, and vil-

lainously pugnacious. In fact, he would go for the biggest dog or cat with such a supreme disregard to size and weight that his master constantly trembled with apprehension for the fate of his miniature canine thunderbolt. Damer soon became strongly attached to Pandey as he named the dog, and Pandey became just as attached to his master. He was so small that he easily went into his master's greatcoat pocket, and it was no uncommon sight to see Pandey's bullet head, silky ears, Day and Martin nose, and shiny black eyes staring out from over the edge of his master's pocket when that gentleman was doing "rounds" or taking a drive in his tum-tum.

Two months after Damer became possessed of Pandey all India was horrified by the dreadful murders which followed in quick succession of Lord Mayo (Viceroy) and Chief Justice Norman—the one killed in the Andaman Islands, the other stabbed on the steps of the High Court, Calcutta. These dreadful deeds were rumoured to be the preliminaries to a second Indian Mutiny. Damer found himself in Calcutta among some relatives of his, just when these diabolical murders had been committed. Of these relations one was the Judge who was to try the notorious Shere Ali, one of the murderers. This Judge had received innumerable threatening letters, all anonymous, from the followers of Shere Ali, swearing to kill the Judge if he dared to pass sentence of death on the murderer; in fact, so great a hostility was shown by a certain section of the native population, and so palpable did the danger of assassination appear, that the Government offered to provide the Judge with a military escort throughout the trial, which was shortly to take place. The offer was courteously declined, and the Judge prepared to go through the trying ordeal without displaying any signs of fear to his anonymous correspondents. But in the privacy of the family circle the subject was discussed with much agitation, and the Judge was urged—nay, begged—to accept the protection of an armed escort, more especially as the trial was to take place in open court, where any desperate fanatic could take a pot shot at him, or stab him, as poor Norman was stabbed, without a moment's warning. But the Judge would hear of no protec-

tion, so his family had to look forward to the trial and its consequences with very mixed feelings.

Three days before the trial of Shere Ali in the High Court, the Judge, who was to try him, being District Judge of Hugli, had to go up to that place to try some civil cases. With him went his cousin, Lieutenant Damer. The Judge had to put up at the house provided for him by the Government, about a mile from the Hugli railway station. It was a huge two-storied building, with magnificent grounds attached, and the shooting round the place was splendid and varied. It was in order to get a couple of days' shooting that Damer went up to Hugli with the Judge. Pandey accompanied his master, committing a felony, in which act he also attached the Judge, and his master, by getting a free passage on the train. He was concealed in his master's coat pocket in fact; so attached had master and dog become to each other that they were practically inseparable.

In the long, rambling, two-storied building Damer was given a bedroom on the second floor, overlooking an irrigation canal; at least, to be correct, he was first allotted the room corresponding to it on the opposite side of the house. His cousin, the Judge, took the first room, and used it throughout the first day of his stay there. But at dinner that night Damer asked the Judge to change bedrooms with him, in order to afford the younger man the chance of getting some early morning turtle shooting from the bedroom windows which commanded the irrigation canal. This canal was the favourite haunt of the small Ganges turtles. They came up with the tide from the Hugli River, and, if it was early morning, they would rise frequently to the surface, right under the widows of this particular bedroom. Damer, from previous experience, knew this, and, finding out that it was to be high tide at 6 the next morning, asked the Judge to change bedrooms with him. So the exchange was arranged late in the evening, and Damer, accompanied by Pandey, retired to rest in the room the Judge was supposed to occupy. Like all Indian houses, the windows were large, and protected by jhil-mils, or wooden blinds, that opened outwards and fastened against the walls outside. There

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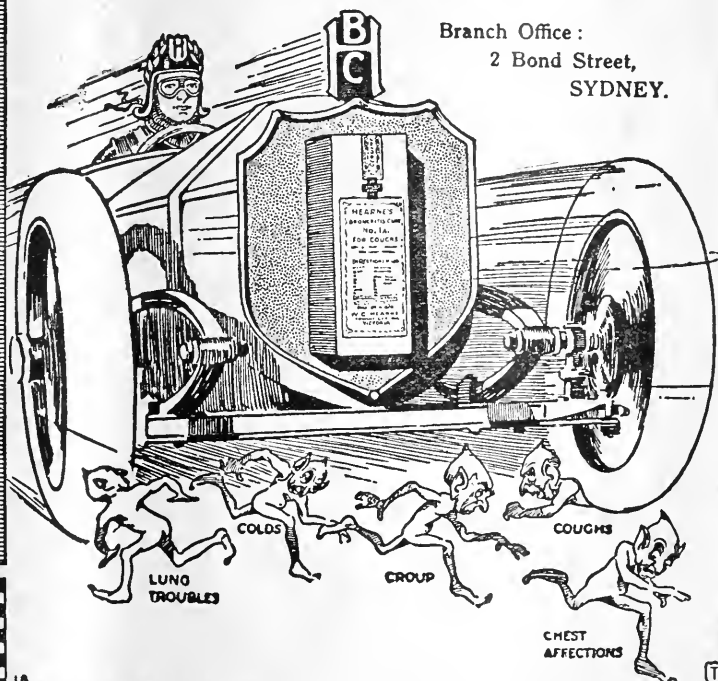
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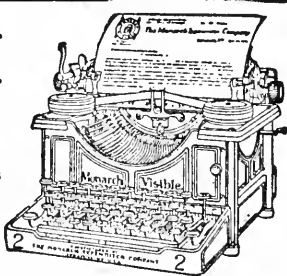
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were two of these windows overlooking the canal. Between the windows, inside the room, was a stand of arms, at that time stocked with Damer's fowling pieces, and a beautiful little sporting rifle that he used for small game, and which he intended to use for the turtle shooting. In the centre of the room was a large double wooden bedstead, innocent of mosquito curtains, as the season was the cold weather. At the back of the room, behind the bed, was the bathroom, and a long wooden staircase led up to it from the compound below. The staircase was for the use of the bathroom servants only. The two windows overlooking the canal also commanded the whole of the wooden staircase. Opposite to the windows, on the other side of the room, was the purdah-covered entrance to the room from the hall outside. After his bearer had helped to undress him the servant retired, spread his chudders across the doorway of the room outside, and there lay down to sleep. Any person or thing entering the room by that door would have had to go over the bearer's body to do so. It is the invariable rule with attached native servants to sleep at the bedroom doors of their masters; and ever since the old bearer's son had entered Damer's service he had always camped on the threshold of his master's room.

Damer could not account for his peculiar physical condition that night. He could only describe it to me as of a feeling that there was "somebody in the room." He could not shake off this strangeness. It was a vividly brilliant moonlight night, and the room was lighted by the two windows as if it were daylight. Damer lay in bed utterly prostrated by the queer haunting of what he called the "somebody in the room" feeling. He moved restlessly from side to side; repeatedly he explored every corner of the room with his eyes, expecting to find "somebody there!" Pandy, curled up at the foot of the bed, was equally disturbed. He stood up now and again, and pointed, actually pointed; sniffing fearfully round him.

"I tell you, old fellow," said Damer in describing that night, "the dog stood with raised paw and tail outstretched, and followed with his head and eyes something moving about the room! It

was just as if he were pointing a butterfly, or, as I at first thought, one of those giant moths that we find in Bengal. But there was no moth, old man. I got out of bed and hunted the room. And there was none of the lust of battle in poor little Pandy's eyes. He appeared wonder-struck and pained. Every now and then he would whimper, and a tremor would go through him. When I asked what it was, he would whine and try to bury his head in my lap. I assure you I was never in such a state in my life before! I felt creepy, eerie, and a shiver went through my limbs, although I was wet with perspiration. I laid down again, really ashamed of myself, and tried to reason it out. It was not fear; that I can give you my word for. I would have interviewed half a score of spooks there and then, and not turned a hair. But I absolutely could not get over that haunting feeling. Then I did a queer thing. Never before in my whole life had I done it; but, believe me, old man, that 'something in the room' seemed to clutch me by the arm, raise me from the bed, and lead me to my portmanteau! I opened it, drew out my pistol case, loaded the pair of them, and laid them on a small table by my bedside. I then took down an old Guzerati sabre from a rack of weapons hanging on the wall, and unsheathing it, tried the edge with my finger. It was almost as keen as a razor. I laid it alongside the pistols, and laid down again, feeling better. I found my nervous condition leaving me. I became cool again, and a great drowsiness came of weapons hanging on the wall and, nestled against my left arm, and I dropped off into oblivion. I found out afterwards that I must have slept four hours. I was awakened by Pandy's shrill barking. As I raised myself on my arm a gleaming knife buried itself in the bedding where a moment before I had been lying! Attached to the knife was a huge brown hand and arm, and to the wrist of that arm hung Pandy, his sharp little teeth fairly buried in it. The moon was down almost to a level with the windows, and I saw the room full of naked brown figures. Inaction was never a failing of mine. I sprang from the bed, and loosed off my pistols. The figures darted for the bathroom. I grabbed the tulwar, and gave chase. The last man

was going through the doorway, and as I raised my arm to cut him down he stretched out his right arm, and to its wrist was still hanging my little dog Pandey. I had that arm off before you could say knife, high up, near the shoulder, and with an agonising yell the owner of it plunged down the bathroom staircase. I saw his figure pass the first window, and, rushing to the rifle rack, I picked up my little sporting rifle that I had left loaded ready for my morning's shooting, took a firm rest on the window sill, and bowled my man over with a clean shot through the skull. The whole thing was finished in two minutes. My bearer and my cousin, the Judge, came rushing in just as I was potting my man. We raised the household. There were some 20 native servants there, and we organised a search party. But barring the man I had dropped we found no other. The rest had got clean away into the jungle!

We found my would-be murderer lying dead at the bottom of the staircase. He was naked, except for a loin cloth, and his body was smeared with oil, a common trick with dacoits. There was no doubt as to his being a Mussulman, and one of Shere Ali's gang. The attempt had evidently been made on the life of the Judge, and but for my lucky exchange of bedrooms with him, Shere Ali

would doubtless have been tried and sentenced to death by another Judge. Now, what do you think of my old bearer's warning? Three months almost to a day before the attempt on my life he had warned me of the coming danger! The wretched pariah dog that he gave he had saved my life; for had not Pandey pinned the villainous dacoit by the wrist, and so diverted the direction of his knife, I should probably have got it full in the heart! Can you explain it at all, old fellow?"

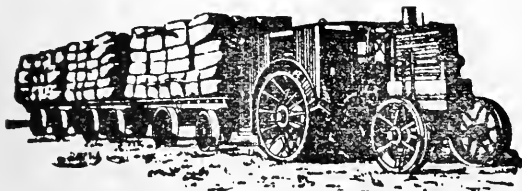
I was forced to acknowledge my inability to elucidate the mysterious powers of prophecy, or second sight, of the old bearer. Damer had always been a strong opponent of spiritualism, theosophy, et hoc genus. But his opinions on astralites and occult influences have changed greatly since his narrow escape from death that night; and, like myself, he believes that there is a power, unknown to us, that is as mysterious as it is manifest, in the cosmos of the pure and æsthetic soul of the Oriental devotee. As for Pandey, the pariah, he lived to an honoured old age, and was laid to rest many years after in an especial vault that Damer had built for him in the compound of his quarters at Bundook. A simple granite slab marks the spot, and he who runs may read the inscription thereon—"His Humble Flarbinger."

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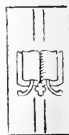
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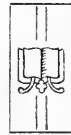
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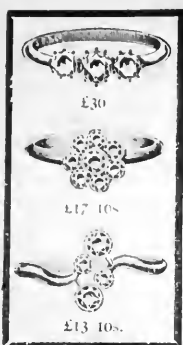
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S.R. 10-1-20.



DOES MY LADY KNOW THAT -



Ribbons have advanced so much in price that most of us take more care of them than in the old days? If washed properly they can be made to do service again and again. The trouble with white ribbons is that they are so apt to turn yellow, but this will not happen if they are washed in warm water, not hot, and only very good quality soap

used. The last rinse water should contain a strong blue, and when half dry the ribbon should be ironed with a warm iron under muslin. A different treatment is required for coloured ribbons. First make a strong lather of good quality soap and warm water. Several rinsings must be given, and the water must in each case be soapy. Dry a little, and then iron between pieces of muslin or any fine material.

Coloured garments of any material which have faded, or white silks or sheer crepes which have yellowed, may often be freshened by washing with one of the combination soap-and-dye products which are on the market in most of the standard colours? Should one ever wish to remove these alkaline dyes the proper procedure is to boil in a weak acid such as vinegar.

The nicest starch for all delicate fabrics is rice-water prepared as follows:— $\frac{1}{2}$ cup of rice, 1 quart boiling water. Wash rice; cook in water until very soft. As water evaporates add more to keep the quantity up to one quart. When cooked, add another quart of boiling water. Strain through double thickness of cheese-cloth or through flannel, without squeezing. Use while hot.

To clean silver in the easiest possible way, get a piece of aluminium, put it into an enamel bowl (on no account use an iron one), add two quarts of boiling water and two tablespoons of washing soda? Let silver stay in water five minutes, or, better still, boil it in the water for a minute or two. Rinse in warm water and dry with clean cloth.

White paint, indeed, any painted woodwork, ironwork, etc., will require to be washed much less frequently, if, when washed and allowed to become thoroughly dry, it is then polished with a good furniture cream? This treatment forms a smooth, glazed surface, from which dust can easily be removed with a soft brush, or duster; otherwise this dust sinks into the roughened surface.

The average family spends a goodly sum on its summer soft drinks? Why does my lady not see her opportunity to save money by making soft drinks at home? There are on the market sufficient kinds of bottled fruit juices of the highest grade, ginger ales made from the best ginger root, and drinks made from other roots that are tonic rather than injurious, to serve as, or to form a basis for, such home beverages. Or she can use the syrups from canned fruits or make syrups from the fresh fruits which are in season.

No artificial flavours can possibly compete with natural fruit juices as a cooling tonic and means of refreshment? Grape juice contains potash salts, tartaric acid and iron, and is particularly high in ability to cleanse the blood and to keep the body temperature low. Lemons and limes are natural tonics unsurpassed. We should cultivate a wider taste for the bottled lime juice, which, by pouring a few drops into iced water, gives us an instantaneous drink without trouble.

Sunset lemonade is a sharp, cool drink that will be relished on a hot day? Two cupfuls of sugar, the juice of four lemons and the grated rind of two oranges are boiled with one quart of water for five

minutes and set aside to cool. The lemonade is then served in tall glasses, with cracked ice and half slices of orange, and a candied cherry floating on top of each glass.

A basic syrup for fruit-juice drinks is as follows:—Add one quart of water to one pound of sugar, and boil for five minutes. Cool, and add strained fruit juice in the desired proportion. It is often desirable to make a quantity of syrup at one time, where it can be kept cold in an ice chest and used as needed. If chocolate is a preferred flavour, make the following:—Use $\frac{1}{2}$ cupful of cocoa, 2 cupfuls of sugar and 1 cupful of boiling water. Mix the cocoa and sugar, and add the water slowly. Bring to the boiling point and boil for five minutes, stirring constantly. When cool add one teaspoonful of vanilla. Use about two tablespoonfuls to a glass.

Pineapple and apple juice also may be bought bottled; the juice of any berry (not forgetting the elderberry) has a subacid piquancy which delights and cools. Peaches, pears, watermelons, and so forth, contain salts and acids which are especially needful to the body in summer, since fruit acids give energy and counteract lassitude and "fag" caused by high temperatures. These fruit juices may be used plain, or partially diluted with shaved ice or cool water, as substitutes for tea and coffee at regular meals.

A good recipe for ham and tomatoes is as follows:—Cut some cooked ham into neat thin slices, put them into a buttered sauce-pan or baking-pan and sprinkle with a little very finely chopped onion, parsley and pepper; place a well-buttered paper over them and cook in a moderate oven for ten to twelve minutes. Dish up on a hot dish and pour boiling tomato sauce over the slices; sprinkle with finely chopped cooked button mushrooms and parsley. Garnish around the edge of the dish here and there with little bunches of the hard-boiled yolk of egg, which has been rubbed through a sieve. Serve hot.

LADIES!

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Don't waste any more money on worthless nostrums, but post the coupon and learn how you can get rid of Catarrh, not merely for a day, or a month, or a year, but **PERMANENTLY.**

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Put Plume to the test in your car.
Follow the example of the men
who say:

“Are you sure
that's Plume?”





In the United States, where motor traction is more and more replacing the horse for farm work, considerable rivalry has recently been shown in developing a tractor to replace the usual one-horse cultivating outfit. One of the most recent machines is called the Utilitor. It develops from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 horse power, and can be used for grass cutting, cultivating, ploughing, discing, lawn mowing and as a stationary power source. It is capable of pulling a 7-inch plough, and is exceedingly easy to handle and control.

Not long ago cables told of the failure of the attempt on the part of British makers to persuade the President of the Board of Trade to reimpose the restrictions on the importation of motor cars and parts, and to support a protective tariff. The English papers now reaching Australia contain many contributions on the subject by interested parties. It is clear from the controversy that British car dealers recognise that they cannot possibly supply cars now on order before the middle of 1920, if then, and that they at least require no protection because of their admitted inability to meet the demand.

It is also clear that the American dealers have seized the opportunity offered, and, by every means in their power, are endeavouring to induce exclusive users of British cars to try American machines. Apparently they have been very successful. In an interview one of the largest car retailers in London made the following statements:—"The American dealers offer me really excellent cars—so excellent and

on such terms that, although I have not dealt in any way with American cars, it is commercially impossible to refuse all business. I have owned and dealt in motor cars for many years, and I assure you I would never have believed it possible that the United States or any other country could offer us such goods. The plain fact is that the British public is clamouring for cars and cannot get them from the home factories. The British buyers are sick of promises that are never kept. Now that these American cars are coming over, the British buyer simply will throw over his home order."

Various owners have written to *The Times*, telling of the trouble and delay they are constantly experiencing in getting spare parts, and a retailer in *The Daily Mail* declares—"The treatment we have received from British makers has been so bad that we are bound to wipe out all patriotism and buy American cars." The trouble is, of course, that British manufacturers cannot yet produce cars in any quantity, cannot therefore promise delivery—or, at any rate, keep promises of delivery—whereas the Americans can not only undertake to deliver on a definite date, but can quote fixed price!

British makers are almost completely ignoring the man who requires a roomy five-passenger car, and who is unwilling to spend more than £500. Instead they are offering a smaller chassis for a light four-passenger body, with an engine having a bore of less than three inches and a stroke varying from four to six inches. At present American manufacturers of low-priced four and five-passenger cars

rated at from 16 to 20 horse-power, have an almost clear field in Great Britain.

Many new ideas were brought out during the war. For instance, one result of the struggle is the manufacture of non-shatterable glass. Wind shields were constantly being broken by bullets, or collisions, and not infrequently the occupants of the car were more injured by the glass splinters than by the flying shrapnel. The need for a glass that would not shatter was met by inserting a piece of transparent sheeting material between two thicknesses of glass. In making the glass a hydraulic press is

used, the two thicknesses of glass and the sheet of py-ra-lin are inserted between two heated plates. Transparent cement is first applied to hold the three parts firmly together. In the process the glass loses practically none of its natural strength or transparency. Taxi-cab companies are using this non-shatterable glass very extensively, and no doubt it will soon be adopted for private cars.

In Italian motor car factories the workers are paid a small wage per hour, plus a definite percentage on output. In 1913 the wage per hour rarely averaged more than 3d., but, adding the percentage, the daily wage came out at some-

ACROSTIC COMPETITION No. II.

First Prize	£3 3 0
Second Prize	1 1 0
Third Prize	0 10 6

Our first Acrostic Competition having proved so popular with our readers, we are starting a second. In this case only three acrostics will be set, so that the result will be known more quickly than in the first case. The most successful solver of the series of three will receive a prize of £3 3s. Second and third prizes of £1 1s. and 10s. 6d. respectively will also be awarded. The rules of the competition are as follow:—

RULES.

1. Competitors must write the solution of each Acrostic on a half sheet of note paper.
2. The Acrostic itself must be cut out of this page and be sent with the solution.
3. Each competitor must adopt a pseudonym containing not more than six letters, and this should be written at the foot of each solution. No other writing must appear on the paper.
4. Two answers may be sent for each light.
5. One mark will be awarded for each light correctly solved, and one mark for each upright.
6. The Acrostic Editor's decision must be accepted as final, and no correspondence can be entered into regarding the competition or the Acrostics.
7. The pseudonyms of the winners will be announced in this column at the close of the competition, and the names and addresses will then be asked for.

The first acrostic of the new series appears herewith. The solution should reach this office not later than February 10th.

ACROSTIC No. 1—Series II.

Here we participate in every light,
You on the left, and I upon the right.

1. Ah, noble matron, soon thou'lt be
The bacon which is brought to me.
2. A royal symbol this would be,
If you would only add the B.
3. Nous is required to make this light
Appear at once both clear and bright.
4. Joined to a watch which has no hands,
A lesson to the sluggard stands.
5. Insert a Roman number here,
Eternal "she" will then appear.
6. The sixth and last you here do see.
It's not in front. How could it be?

(Acrostic to be cut out and attached to solution).

Note.—As there are six lights in this Acrostic, the uprights must consist of two words of six letters each, or one word of twelve letters.

SOLUTION OF ACROSTIC No. 5 (First Series).

	T	a	i	C
	O	v	o	I
	W	a	k	a
	t	i	p	U
(a)	N	e	o	p
	A	b	s	e
(b)	N	i	p	t
(c)	D	e	l	a
	Y			

NOTES.

- (a) Genus of vulture with horizontal nostrils; found in Egypt and India.
- (b) The ecclesiastical ceremony of washing the feet, performed on Thursday in Holy Week.
- (c) "Raw Haste, half-sister to Delay."—Tennyson.

THE MOTOR PICNIC

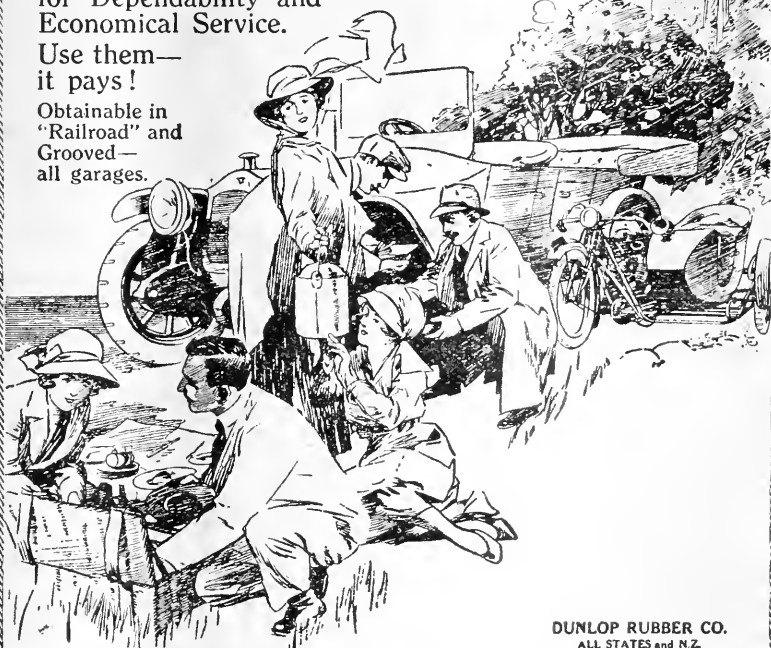
We are many miles from home, away on a little frequented ocean beach. Motors brought us here—and in the cool of the evening we will wind over hills and plains and arrive home after a great day. No stuffy train, tram, or boat to mar the pleasure of our outing—and no tyre troubles—for the tyres are "Dunlops." Such are the charms and advantages of motor-ing. The pleasureable side of motoring really depends on the staunchness of the tyres used. In this connection one can always rely on

DUNLOP TYRES

for Dependability and Economical Service.

Use them—
it pays!

Obtainable in
"Railroad" and
Grooved—
all garages.



DUNLOP RUBBER CO.
ALL STATES and N.Z.

thing below 4/-. In 1918 the wage per hour was increased to from 5d. to 7d., and the daily wage had mounted to from 10/- to 15/-. The wages paid in 1919 were about 200 per cent. higher than in 1913.

The Citroen car is now being produced at the rate of 40 per day, instead of the promised 100. It has a very small engine and cramped accommodation for four passengers. Renault is producing a somewhat similar type of car which

was to sell at 8600 francs. The price has, however, now been increased to 12,000 francs (£480).

The Vacuum Oil Company paid a bonus at Christmas to all its permanent employees in Australia and New Zealand equal to one month's salary for a complete year of service in 1919, or a pro rata sum in the case of those employees who have served less than 12 months. This is the fourth Christmas bonus paid by the company.

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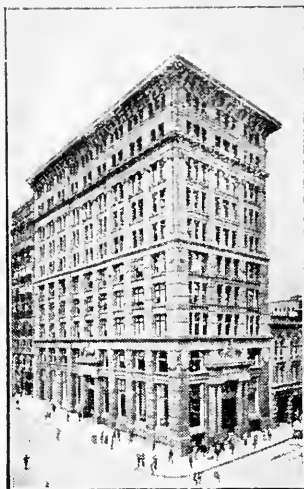
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FINANCIAL NOTES.

The closing week of the stock and share market was without excitement. This is due in part to the comfortable feeling that so far as politics had gone, there was little chance of any rash experimenting during the next three years. But the ease with which commitments were met, plus the high price of securities and the readiness of people to plunge into any speculation having a sporting chance does not allay the anxiety felt generally at the way affairs have been shaped and are still shaping. The problems that ought to be tackled are not grappled. The currency needs to be reduced to proper dimensions even if a portion of it has to be funded, the orgy of borrowing has to be stopped, economy has to be taught both in public and private life, and the lesson has to be learnt that if Australia is to shake off its war burdens it first of all must open wide its arms to deserving emigrants from the old world, and steps have to be taken to lighten the burdens of taxation pressing on every class. There is no need to rejoice because bank shares closed the year at top figures, or that industrials were as strongly in request as ever. The attraction in both cases of course has been that as times have gone, expenditure has been stimulated in every direction, and consequently the earnings of companies of the kind have been exceptional. The market has shown that the community will not realise that just as the outgo over the war eases off so public and private extravagance will near an end. The course of borrowing as indicated by the appeal of Queensland to London indicates the writing on the wall. Although the effect of the rate paid has so far not been manifest on local quotations for war stocks, and State issues, still that may happen. As it is, the closing quotations for such securities do not constitute cheerful reading, especially when contrasted with the prices ruling for the shares of joint stock concerns. The mining group outside the Broken Hill section were listless right up to the close, whereas the buoyancy of the Barrier mines was as conspicuous as ever. The only explanation for this must be the hope that Labour trouble at Broken

Hill is almost at an end, and that with the field reappearing as a world's supplier of silver, lead and zinc, the demand for all three metals will remain so strong that little is risked in buying the shares of the field. Generally the comment passed when business ended on the Exchanges was that brokers had had "a jolly good year."

A QUEENSLAND LOAN.

Some folk are pleased with very little. The comment by Mr. Theodore on the loan just floated in London by the Queensland Government shows that. To get off a 6 per cent. issue at 98½, even if the date of maturity is distant, is a feat no Treasurer need rejoice over. Yet that is what Mr. Theodore appears to be doing. "The Times" gave a sly dig at the loan when it said that it compared favourably with the Nigerian loan floated at par at 6 per cent. Nothing could more indicate the condition of the finances by a State like Queensland when it has to give 6 per cent. for money. The issue not only is floated at a discount of 30s. per cent., but subscribers are to be free from Queensland income tax and probate and succession duties. Yet in the face of the concessions to subscribers, and the price that has had to be accepted, Mr. Theodore considers that the response to this application of the State for cash shows that its credit stands high in London. If there be no trepidation or fear in the minds of investors there, why jump the rate up to 6 per cent. Surely if everything be so satisfactory in Queensland, the security so good, and the attractiveness so alluring, why not try a 5 or 5½ per cent. rate, or why not tap New York? Other State Treasurers cannot smile over the complacency of Mr. Theodore. His financial feat is sure to be used as a rod to beat their backs should they want to go on to the market. No one need be surprised at the result of the loan except in the one aspect of Mr. Theodore's smug self-complacency. Both Queensland and New South Wales have borrowed almost to the "dizzy limit," as used to be said by the Jubilee Plunger in his penultimate

stages. No country with the load of debt of either of those States, and the smallness of their population, and with the way in which their revenue and expenditure are shaping, can afford to go borrowing at 6 per cent. without compelling either a revision of freights and charges made by public utilities or increasing the burden of taxation on all and sundry.

WHEAT.

During the whole of this year speculation has centred in wheat scrip. And during the whole twelve months evidence has been accumulating that this speculation has brought to the surface a great amount of scum. The rise and the fall in the price of wheat scrip has been a boon and blessing to the members of the stock and wheat exchanges, and to outsiders who have made it their profession to handle certificates in the market. Is it not fair, however, to ask whether the trafficking in the stock has not merely added another gambling counter to those already in use. Has not the freedom to buy and to sell, desirable as such freedom is in many ways, provided such temptations "to get rich quick," that some Wallingfords have been unable to resist the lure of the dealing. The royal commissions sitting in several of the States have not done much more than disclose a great deal of ineptitude in control, and miserable workmanship in handling the wheat business by both politicians and officials, but those in the market know that in some way or another news has trickled out to dealers. One State provides a surprise to-day, another sets the ball rolling to-morrow, and fortunes are lost and made. To the end of 1919 has this sort of display gone on. December finished with another flutter. The wheat board met in Melbourne. Seemingly it came to a decision, for in a few hours prices got jigging. Very soon telegrams came from Sydney, and telephone messages from Adelaide, purporting to convey decisions regarding not only the dividends to be paid, but hinting at the prospect of Australia getting concessions from the British Government. While a good deal of the messages may have been conjecture a lot was not. Those

who got the news forecast a 6d. dividend on "C" scrip for South Australia and Victorian pools, and a 3d. or 6d. dividend for the two "D" pools, and certain good things for the "B" pools. Then it was said that the price of wheat for New South Wales was to be fixed at 6s. 6d. This no doubt is relying on Mr. Hughes' promise. The financing of the dividend will be easy, for the advances in respect to the former disbursements have been so largely reduced that the banks can handle the new business easily. To the farmer the increase in price will come as a political sedative, to the family man, and especially the worker, the advance in the price of wheat to 6s. 6d., will be regarded as adding to the cost of living. So there may be a battle royal on the subject, out of which the farmer certainly will score, as he mostly does, despite his loud protestations.

NATIONAL MUTUAL.

The feature of the annual report of the National Mutual Life Association of Australasia is remarkable for the amount of new business written. This totalled £5,630,415, against £4,320,512 in 1917-18. This is a capital record, and tells that the management has been most energetic in extending the business of the office. In all 15,136 new policies were issued. The new annual premiums were £234,865, and the total income for the year, after deducting reinsurance premiums was £2,116,509. Premiums on policies were £1,489,556, against £1,333,923 in the preceding twelve months. The death claims were heavy arising out of the loss of life through the war and the outbreak of influenza, but all offices had a similar experience. As a result of the year's work funds have been increased from £11,708,850 to £12,524,369. The total outgo for the year was £1,300,991, which included £1,063,275 paid to policyholders or their representatives. The Company's investments are well distributed, and include £3,564,523 in Government securities, £5,890,414 loans on mortgage, £1,081,227 loans on policies, and £868,512 freehold property. Cash items aggregate £509,051.



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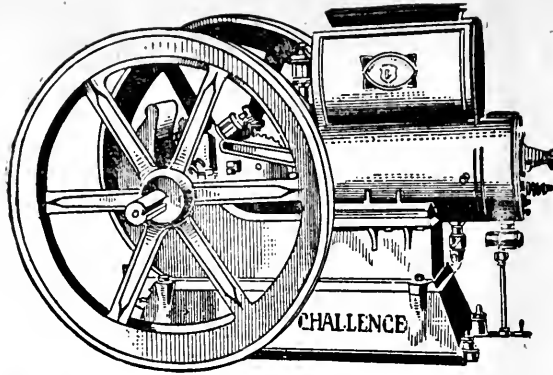
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